The Transmission and Treatment of Mythological Material in Some Medieval Spanish Texts

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Abstract

Studies on mythological themes have largely ignored the Spanish Middle Ages, and critical works on literature of this period have neglected the mythological aspect. This is, therefore, not only a vast, but on the whole a new, subject, and my thesis cannot be definitive. I explore some of its possibilities in the hope that this will inspire further study. Having examined various mythologies I conclude that classical mythology is the principal one to receive treatment in medieval Spain. In my introduction I consider the works through which the writers of the Spanish Middle Ages received their knowledge of mythology and the ways in which they adapted it to suit a medieval reader. In chapters II-IV, I study a selection of medieval works, both prose and verse and from different genres. In each work I examine the writer's treatment of the mythology he found in his sources and the ways in which he introduced his own original mythological details and the purpose they serve. In chapter V, I consider the development of the use of two mythological characters through the period and chapter VI draws the thesis to a conclusion.

I compare the use of mythology in the early and late Middle Ages and show that the passing of time increases interest in, and knowledge of, mythology. The didactic use that the early writers made of mythology develops into the aesthetic use made of it by the fifteenth-century writers. A detailed analysis of the use a fifteenth-century work makes of a thirteenth-century one proves that works from the earlier century must have had a much greater influence on the later ones than has been generally acknowledged; it also throws into doubt the conception of the fifteenth century as pre-Renaissance.

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Abbreviations

(Journals and series)

AEM	Anuario de Estudios Medievales
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
ELH	E[nglish] L[iterary] H[istory]
Elliott Monographs	Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures
HR	Hispanic Review
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
NBAE	Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
NRFH	Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
RFE	Revista de Filología Española
RHM	Revista Hispánica Moderna
RH	Revue Hispanique
RoN	Romance Notes
RPh	Romance Philology
RR	Romanic Review

Miscellaneous abbreviations

Alexandre	El libro de Alexandre
Baladro	Baladro del sabio Merlín
Coronaçión	La Coronacion, compuesta y glosada por el famoso poeta Juan de Mena, dirigida al illustre cauallero don YÑigo Lopez de Mendoça, marques de Santillana
GE	General estoria
Grimalte	Grimalte y Gradissa
Grisel	Grisel y Mirabella
HART	Historia Apollonii regis Tyri
LAp	Libro de Apolonio
LBA	Libro de Buen Amor
Semeiança	Semeiança del mundo

The above abbreviations are used throughout this thesis. In individual chapters, the titles of some other works are abbreviated, and these abbreviations are explained at the appropriate point. A list of additional abbreviations used only in the index immediately precedes the index.

In quotations I have followed the text used, with three minor exceptions: Juan de Mena's commentary on his Coronaçión (quoted from the fifteenth-century edition), where I have regularized the use of u and v, i and j; quotations from the General estoria which are compared with those from the Coronaçión commentary, where I have regularized similarly for the sake of consistency; La Celestina, where I have omitted Cejador's nineteenth-century accents.

Chapter I

Introduction

> Greek ... myths are permanent. They deal with the greatest of all problems, the problems which do not change, because men and women do not change. They deal with love; with war; with sin; with tyranny; with courage; with fate: and all in some way or other deal with the relation of man to those divine powers which are sometimes felt to be irrational, sometimes to be cruel, and sometimes, alas, to be just.[1]

Thus it is that despite energetic attempts by the early Christians to stamp out the influence of pagan material it has survived and is still popular today. However, different ages approached mythological episodes in different ways, and it is the ways in which it was treated in the Middle Ages in Spain that is the subject of this thesis. Mythology was made acceptable to medieval Christians because of the treatment it had received during the patristic period. The writers of this time, seeing that it would be difficult suddenly to eradicate the pagan beliefs, looked for ways to adapt and convert them. One particular approach they made was through the work of Euhemerus; he was a Greek rationalist of the fourth century B.C. who concluded that the gods and heroes were nothing but supermen on whom divine honours had been bestowed after their death. And so the early fathers,like Clement of Alexandria, were able to attack the gods of the pagans by telling them that they were not really gods but were in fact merely men like themselves.[2] Once a virtue was recognized in the classical literature, other means were sought to adapt it to Christian beliefs. The early fathers who knew history only from the Old Testament began to consider when these apparently historical personages existed in relation to the Bible. They also began to interpret the myths

allegorically: underneath these often scurrilous stories lay Christian teaching and morals. Thus it was, that the adoption of these ideas by the writers of the early Middle Ages enabled these mythological tales, though many of them were unedifying, treating of adultery, rape and incest, treachery, infanticide and parricide, to be included in Christian literature. I shall, in due course, show how Alfonso el Sabio and other writers used euhemerism, history and allegory to make the tales of mythology comprehensible and acceptable to the Christian reader. We shall see how, gradually, these tales, made almost respectable by their association with biblical teaching, became so much a part of literature in Spain that by the end of the Middle Ages they appear in order to elaborate and adorn literature, as a means by which the writer could reveal his erudition; their inclusion no longer needs explanation or excuse.

Through the works of which writers did medieval authors receive their knowledge of the Greek myths? The early writers did not know the original Greek writings, for they were not rediscovered nor translated in Spain until well into the Middle Ages, so it was the late Latin writers and those of the patristic period who were principally responsible for the knowledge of the medieval writers. Ovid's works, especially the Metamorphoses, had a greater influence on the Middle Ages than any other one work. At first the early Christian writers condemned his words as immoral and licentious but the Metamorphoses proved to be a valuable source for pagan history as its structure was chronological. By the time of Charlemagne there was a substantial interest in Ovid and readers began to find beneath the unpromising surface many moral stories. This allegorical approach to his works made them acceptable to

the Church and thus his influence on succeeding centuries was assured.[3] Other writers who influenced the medieval period in Spain were Josephus(AD37-100), a Jewish soldier and historian who drew parallels between the teachings of the Bible and pagan myth; Lucan(AD39-65) with his Pharsalia; and Statius(AD45-96) whose Thebaid and Achilleid were accepted as historical fact. There was a first-century rendering in Latin of Homer's Iliad, the Ilias Latina, which was superseded by the supposedly eye-witness accounts of the Trojan War by Dares and Dictys. The Middle Ages knew all three versions but favoured the last two as they were supposed to be more accurate. It was probably via St Jerome (AD340-420) that the medieval writers received knowledge of Eusebius' Chronicle in which he placed chronologically events from the Bible and from Greek, Roman and oriental myth in an attempt to prove that the religion of the chosen people predated pagan mythology. Paulus Orosius, sometime in the fifth century, was a Christian historian who attempted to unravel the past of fable and legend in order to condemn the pagan. His manual, Historia adversus paganos, was highly esteemed throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. It was translated from Latin into Italian, thence into Aragonese for Juan Fernández de Heredia, and thence into Castilian for the Marqués de Santillana. The neo-platonist, Macrobius, writing around A.D. 400 became a philosophical and scientific authority for the Middle Ages; he wrote a commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis and also wrote the Saturnalia, much of which interprets Virgil. Virgil was also studied in the fifth century by Servius, In Vergilii Aeneidos Commentaris, a work much used in the Middle Ages. He followed the text of the Aeneid with euhemeristic interpretations

and some moralizing. Fulgentius, towards the end of the fifth century, was one of the first Christian fathers to produce a work dedicated to allegorizing classical mythology. His Mythologiae is a short work treating only the principal myths, but a work well known in the Middle Ages. In the following century Lactantius Placidus wrote an allegorizing commentary on Statius' Thebaid. In the sixth century Cassiodorus explored the dependence of profane literature on sacred learning. He brought a knowledge of classicism to the monasteries and it was at this point that the stylistic merit of the classical writings and certain authors came to be recognized and studied in their own right: principally Virgil, Seneca and Cicero. Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae was to remain one of the most influential books in Europe for a thousand years. Of these works which contain mythological elements and were known in the Middle Ages, those principally used by the Spanish writers studied in this thesis are Ovid, Jerome, Josephus, Lucan, Statius, Virgil, Isidore, Dictys and Dares.

The reawakening of learning in Spain in the thirteenth century developed as time went on. The original classical works came to be studied in their original forms and many translations were made so that classical knowledge could be acquired by a much larger number of people. For example, Heredia had Plutarch's Lives translated into Aragonese in the fourteenth century. The contents of the library of Santillana, whom I shall study in chapter IV, reveal the extent to which classical works had become a part of the learning process by the fifteenth century. The poet himself ordered translations of the Aeneid, the Iliad, the Metamorphoses and Seneca's tragedies. He also had Castilian

translations of Plato, Aristotle, Caesar, Orosius, Sallust, Livy, Pompeius Trogus, Valerius Maximus, Eusebius, Justinian, Frontinus, Lucan, Palladius, Vegetius, Quintus Curtius and Boethius; Aragonese versions of Thucydides and Quintus Curtius Rufus; and he also had Italian translations of other writers like Polybius, Suetonius and Quintilian. Added to this impressive list were the works of Pliny, Josephus, Horace, St Augustine, St Gregory and St John Chrysostom.[4]

Nevertheless it is too simple to say that the medieval writers discussed here received their knowledge of mythology via the classical, late Latin and patristic literature listed above, for even the early writers had in their possession medieval adaptations of these works and also chronicles which had utilized the classical material, and such works have been proved to have been used by subsequent writers. Around 1160, Benoît de Sainte-Maure wrote of the Trojan War in his Roman de Troie, using Dictys and Dares as his source, and he was reworked in Latin, late in the thirteenth century, by Guido de Columnis in his Historia destructionis Troiae.[5] There was the Roman de Thèbes which used Statius' Thebaid and also in French was the Roman d'Alexandre; on the Alexander theme also, was Gautier de Châtillon's Alexandreis. Alfonso also made use of the following chronicles for his General estoria: the De rebus Hispaniae (1243) by Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, el Toledano, the Chronicon mundi (1236) of Lucas, Bishop of Túy, el Tudense, and the Historia scholastica of Petrus Comestor, all of which contained classical material. Last but not least in any way, were the moralized Ovids which were, to a great degree, responsible for the transmission of mythological material to

the writers that I shall be discussing. Four versions of the Metamorphoses which are still extant are known to have been very popular in the Middle Ages. There is the Integumenta Ovidii, by John of Garland, written about 1234; a version by Arnolphe d'Orléans; the Ovidius moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire which was the fifteenth book of his Reductorium morale; and the Ovide moralisé written by an unknown monk between 1316 and 1328. This work also gave rise to an Ovide moralisé en prose. The fifteenth-century writers that I shall consider also had the advantage of the mythological material as it appeared in the works of Petrarch, Dante and Boccaccio.

The means of transmitting mythological material in respect of the thirteenth century, as I shall show, is not too difficult to study, as the cuaderna vía writers and those of chronicles were in large part following a source and thus if the mythological details are in the source one can reasonably assume this to be the origin of the fact. However, in the case of the fifteenth-century writers the question is far from easy. There is a considerable use of mythology but it is not often accompanied by any details thus making the task of proving a source difficult. Nor do the later writers rely on any definite source, for the majority of their works are the product of their own personal thoughts. The source of their knowledge, as I have shown by the number of works available to these writers, could be any one of numerous works. However, there is one work that could have given to the fifteenth century all its knowledge of mythology, a work which itself embodied many of the main sources for mythological material. This is Alfonso el Sabio's General estoria. This is a line of thought rarely considered by critics

but it is not an improbable one and I shall examine the various indicators towards it as this thesis progresses.[6]

But what are these myths that played such an important part in medieval Spanish literature? The most common explanation of mythology is that real myth explains something in nature, for example how everything in the universe came into being, men, animals, flowers, earthquakes etc. Myths are an early science, the result of man first trying to explain what was around him. The line between mythology, legend and folktale is hard to define, for as J. R. Bacon shows in her study of the voyage of the Argonauts, the three overlap and intertwine: with each succeeding elaboration on the original tale, which might have been true myth, elements of legend, both historical and fictional, and of folk-tale have been added.[7] I have therefore decided not to enter the argument as to which tales in classical mythology are truly myths, but I have studied here all the tales that appear in standard manuals of mythology.[8] For example, while I do not believe that all the events in the Trojan War are mythological, nor indeed that the war itself was a myth, I shall study it as it appears in the manuals of mythology. On the other hand I shall omit the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe as this does not appear in the manuals: it originated from an oriental story and was not introduced into Latin works until its appearance in the Metamorphoses. This thesis concentrates principally on classical mythology, for there is hardly any trace of other mythologies in Spanish medieval literature, except for that of Celtic material as it occurs in the Arthurian cycle; and as I shall show in a study of El baladro del sabio Merlín this cycle has also been influenced by classical mythology. Indeed it is true that most mythology in the

literature of southern Europe is of Greek origin filtered through Latin. I shall begin my study in the thirteenth century with cuaderna vía poetry and Alfonso's GE, for early Spanish lyric and epic make no use of mythology (unless we are to accept the occasional eccentric suggestion that, for instance, Raquel and Vidas in the Cantar de mio Cid are the ritual victims of a sun god).[9]

The treatment that mythology received in the Middle Ages at first followed that of the late Latin and patristic writings: it was retold with euhemeristic and allegorical explanations, as historical fact, and was presented in chronological order alternating with biblical material, as we shall see in GE and the Semeiança del mundo. Nevertheless the Middle Ages added its own personality to the tales for, as will be seen in GE, many original medieval details were added, thus making the tales acceptable and comprehensible to the reader. The Libro de Alexandre is the first of the works studied to use mythology simply for decorative purposes. Classical myth has by now become the yardstick by which to measure Spain's greatness. Thirteenth-century Castile wished to establish political influence in Europe and thus el Toledano introduced Hercules to establish a respectable link between Spain and the past - a past that would equal that of the rest of Europe.[10] This idea can be seen clearly in the Hercules story for many writers proudly state that he was in Spain and founded the pillars of Hercules (see below, p. 54); however, this idea culminated in Alfonso el Sabio who not only describes Hercules' travels in Spain but attempts to trace his own ancestry back to Jupiter, the kings of Troy and Alexander, in order to vindicate his claim to be emperor and Rex Romanorum (see below, p.69). Heredia, too, in the following century gives details of Hercules'

wanderings in Spain (see below, pp.129-30). By the fifteenth century interest in Hercules' connections with Spain has waned. Nevertheless, Santillana mentions his conquest of Spain when he turned vice to virtue in Favor de Hercules contra Fortuna and Mena places him in a very prominent position under the moon in Laberinto de Fortuna (see below, p.204). By the end of the fifteenth century there were open attacks on the relationship of Hercules to early Spanish history. However, the interest was revived by Annius de Viterbo who, in 1498, invented a splendid dynasty for the Catholic Monarchs which became the cultural accompaniment to the expansive dreams of Castilian politics. Others in the following century developed this further to create a past to suit the inflated ego of the present.[11]

Thus the attitude to the relationship between Spain and pagan mythology changed with the passing of the Middle Ages. The works that I have examined in the fourteenth century, however, saw no great development in the treatment of mythological material. Heredia's Grant crónica de Espanya used mythological material in the same way as Alfonso's GE, and the Libro de Buen Amor hardly used mythology. By the time we come to the works of the fifteenth century, however, the change is startling, for here mythology has become firmly part of literature used by the poet or prose writer simply to enhance his work, though it is true that if explanations or moral interpretations were given as in the case of Mena's commentary on the Coronaçión they were given in the same vein as those of the earlier writers. However, now that mythology has become an integral part of literature, the time has come for some writers to stand back and wonder whether these tales, which were still of an insidiously corrupting

nature and which now were not protected by allegorical explanations, should be part of the literature of the medieval Christian. Jorge Manrique says:

> Dexo las ynuocaçiones
> delos famosos poetas
> y oradores;
> no curo de sus ficciones,
> que traen yeruas secretas
> sus sabores. [12]

Gómez Manrique and Mena also adopt this attitude, as I shall show, and a trace of it can be seen in La Celestina. But these people who rejected pagan mythology were not in the majority, and even in the case of Mena it was only at the end of his life, when all his dreams had been shattered, that he adopted this attitude; the larger part of his poetry contains hundreds of mythological allusions. There were indeed those who conferred a kind of posthumous baptism on the great writers of the past. One of the most memorable expressions of this attitude is to be found in the words supposedly uttered by St Paul at Virgil's tomb:

> Ad Maronis mausoleum
> ductus fudit super eum
> piae rorem lacrimae;
> "Quem te," inquit, "redidissem,
> si te vivum invenissem,
> poetarum maxime." [13]

Santillana not only made plentiful use of classical mythology in his poems, but he provided theoretical justification: "¿E qué cosa es la poesía ... syno un fingimiento de cosas útiles, cubiertas o veladas con muy fermosa cobertura, distinguidas e scandidas por çierto cuento, peso e medida?" [14] Thus it was that the use of pagan mythology produced a polemic in the fifteenth century just as it haddone in the patristic period; it is also interesting to note that it could well have sprung from a wish to emphasize Christianity in order to overshadow Judaism. [15]

It will be seen that medieval Spanish writers used mythology in a variety of ways, and with differing degrees of skill and originality but all are of interest, since a study of their use of myth helps us to understand the changing intellectual attitudes of the Spanish Middle Ages and also enhances our appreciation of the works concerned. It is surprising, therefore, to find that the critics have so far paid little attention to this subject. The general histories of medieval Spanish literature, although often extensive, do not treat mythology in any detail.[16] Much work has been done on classical themes and classical influences in the Middle Ages but even in these mythology itself does not play a large part.[17] Seznec's work on the development and changes in the role and character of the pagan gods unfortunately does not give any examples from Spanish literature. Highet too hardly mentions Spain. Chandler R. Post studies Spanish poets from an allegorical viewpoint but the emphasis is not on mythology.[18] Nicholas G. Round, in a study on Renaissance culture, considers the general climate of the times working against the development of classical scholarship but there are few details of particular works.[19] Works on the influence of Ovid abound, but there is little mention of medieval Spanish literature.[20] Cooke's study on euhemerism does not refer to Spanish vernacular works. Schevill's work on the influence of Ovid in the Renaissance devotes naturally little space to the Middle Ages, considering only the Libro de Alexandre, the Libro de Buen Amor and some fifteenth-century poets. GE receives no treatment as it had not been edited at the time he wrote his book. GE is treated by many other critics, however, as I shall show; suffice it to mention here Robert Ginzler's dissertation on the influence of the Metamorphoses.[21] Antonio Alatorre studied the Heroides in Spanish

literature.[22]

Thus it emerges that in the majority of general works on literature or on classical themes Spain and mythology have been largely neglected. There are however some detailed books on mythology and its themes. The largest of these is that of José María de Cossío but of his 824 pages only 26 are devoted to the medieval period.[23] Otis H. Green studies the rejection of mythology but has no examples before the fifteenth century.[24] In the same way Pablo Cabañas' work on Orpheus considers only the works of Santillana and Mena in the Middle Ages.[25] James R. Chatham has also studied Orpheus but only in GE.[26] In studying Phaethon A. Gallego Morell takes examples only from the sixteenth century and beyond.[27] Francisco Moya begins his study of Hero and Leander in the sixteenth century.[28] There are also works on Dido[29] and Psyche.[30] Federick Goldin studies the Narcissus theme in French, German and Italian literature.[31] Louise Vinge also studies Narcissus but Spain appears only as the Golden Age is reached; this is probably because she is using Cossío as her source for material in Spanish literature.[32] Guy Cadogan Rotheray and Donald J. Sobol in their books on the Amazons do not mention Spain.[33] The only work that considers in detail the Spanish transmission and treatment of a mythological character in the Middle Ages is a thesis on Hercules.[34] There are other articles which touch briefly on mythology which I shall consider in the appropriate chapters of this thesis, but even collectively they cover very little ground. It is clear, therefore, that very little work has been done on mythology in general in Spain and even less on the Middle Ages in particular. The present thesis cannot, therefore, claim to be comprehensive

or definitive. It is rather an attempt to open up some aspects of this important but neglected subject, in the hope that this will encourage further studies.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1949), p. 540.

2. For a study of euhemerism see J. D. Cooke, "Euhemerism: a mediaeval interpretation of classical paganism", Speculum, II (1927), 396-410.

3. For the development of interest in Ovid see Rudolph Schevill, Ovid and the Renascence in Spain (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, IV, 1, Berkeley, 1913). A briefer survey is provided by Dorothy M. Robathan, "Ovid in the Middle Ages", in Ovid, ed. J. W. Binns (London, 1973), pp. 191-209.

4. See Mario Schiff, La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane (Paris, 1905, repr. Amsterdam, 1970).

5. This had more influence than Benoît de Sainte-Maure's version because it was written in the international language. It was translated into Italian, German, French, Danish, Icelandic, Czech, Scots and English (Highet, p. 55), and also into Castilian, Catalan and Aragonese.

6. This idea puts into question Keith Whinnom's views, in Spanish Literary Historiography: three forms of distortion (Exeter, 1967), that medieval Spanish works were unlikely to have been known until the Renaissance as so few were printed, and that continuity in the Middle Ages was via medieval Latin works. He says that it was not until the sixteenth century that Spanish writers became conscious of a native tradition and were influenced primarily by their Spanish predecessors, beginning to accept the ideas, conventions, rhetoric and commonplaces of a Spanish rather than a European Latin tradition.

7. The Voyage of the Argonauts (London, 1925).

8. Works consulted:
M. Leach, Standard Dictionary of Folktale, Mythology and Legend (2 vols, New York, 1949-50);
Alexander S. Murray, Manual of Mythology (New York, 1935, repr. 1946);
W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods (London, 1950);
C. Kerényi, The Gods of the Greeks (London, 1951); The Heroes of the Greeks (London, 1959);
H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, including its extension to Rome (London, 1928, repr. 1953);
Pierre Grimal, Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine (Paris, 1951);
Michael Grant, Myths of the Greeks and Romans (London, 1962);
Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (2 vols, Harmondsworth, 1955, repr. 1966);
J. A. Pérez-Rioja, Diccionario de símbolos y mitos (Madrid, 1962);
The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 1962);
Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology, ed. Robert Graves (London, 1959).

9. Raymond E. Barbera, "The Pharmakos in the Poema de Mio Cid", Hispania (U.S.A), L (1967), 236-41.

10. R. B. Tate, "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", HR, XXII (1954), 1-18, at p. 5. This desire to link one's heroes and country to mythological figures was stimulated by Virgil's Aeneid. In this poem Aeneas founded Rome and there grew a tradition that new states and countries should be founded by people with Trojan ancestors. For example Brutus, son of Silvius, said to be the grandson of Aeneas, was credited with the foundation of Britain. It was also said that Caesar was descended from Iulus the Phrygian. The habit of tracing genealogical connections between modern families and nations and peoples of antiquity was prevalent in ancient Rome. It died away in the Dark Ages but was revived again in the Middle Ages. It was stimulated especially by Le Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure (1160). Geoffrey of Monmouth in the Historia regum Britanniae (finished 1136) traced the ancestry of the British kings back to Troy. Charles IX personally supervised Ronsard's Franciade because he wished it to establish a direct link between sixty-three sovereigns of his own line and antiquity. In 1390 Jacques de Guise wrote Annales de l'histoire des illustres princes de Hainaut depuis le commencement du monde. As early as the fourteenth century the Trojan legends were in great favour at the court of the Dukes of Burgundy. Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-before 1525), in Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie, derived all people from Trojan heroes. See Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (New York, 1953, repr. 1961), pp. 24-5; this book was originally published in French as La Survivance des dieux antiques (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XI, London, 1940).

11. Tate, "Mythology", pp. 16-18.

12. Coplas por la muerte de su padre, 4a-f, in Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (NBAE, XXII, Madrid, 1915), p. 229.

13. Domenico Comparetti says that these lines were sung in the Mass of St Paul at Mantua as late as the fifteenth century. He states that of the pagan poets, Christian theologians felt most at home with Virgil, for he was the one to approach nearest to Christianity. Christian writers wished to purify him from what was, in their eye, his only fault, the pagan spirit. Dante too saw his only fault as being his lack of baptism: Vergil in the Middle Ages (2nd ed., 1908, repr. London, 1966), pp. 97-8.

14. Prohemio e carta quel Marqués de Santillana enbió al condestable de Portugal con las obras suyas in Marqués de Santillana, Prose and Verse, ed. J. B. Trend (London, 1940), p.4.

15. The power of the Jews grew in the Middle Ages and with it a hatred for this race. In 1391 many Jews were massacred in Seville. The Spanish Inquisition was instituted by the Catholic Monarchs in 1478 in order to seek out the insincere converso. As the years passed, however, it developed to such a degree that even theologians could be suspected of heresy. See Américo Castro, The Structure of Spanish History (Princeton, 1954), pp.466-550.

16. For example: A. D. Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: the Middle Ages (London, 1971);
Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la novela (NBAE, I, VII, XIV, XXI, Madrid, 1905-15;
Julio Cejador y Frauca, Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana (I, Madrid, 1915);
José Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica de la literatura española (7 vols, Madrid, 1861-5);
Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition: the Castilian mind in literature from El Cid to Calderón (4 vols, Madison and Milwaukee, 1963-6).

17. For example: Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London, 1953);
C. S. Lewis, The Discarded Image. An introduction to medieval and Renaissance literature (Cambridge, 1964); The Allegory of Love, a study in medieval tradition (Oxford, 1936);
R. R. Bolgar, ed. Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500 (Cambridge, 1971).

18. Mediaeval Spanish Allegory (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915, repr. 1974).

19. "Renaissance Humanism and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile", MLR, LVII (1962), 204-15.

20. For example; Lester K. Born, "Ovid and Allegory", Speculum, IX (1934), 362-79;
Sandford B. Meech, "Chaucer and the Ovide Moralisé", PMLA, XLVI (1931), 182-204;
Joseph Engels, Études sur l'Ovide moralisé (Groningen, 1945); also Schevill and Robathan, see above, note 3.

21. "The Role of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the General estoria of Alfonso el Sabio" (Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971).

22. Las "Heroidas" de Ovidio y su huella en las letras españolas (México, 1950).

23. Fábulas mitológicas en España (Madrid, 1952).

24. "Fingen los poetas. Notes on the Spanish attitude towards pagan mythology", in Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal, I (Madrid, 1950), pp. 275-88

25. El mito de Orfeo en la literatura española (Madrid, 1948).

26. "A Thirteenth-Century Spanish Version of the Orpheus Myth", RoN, X (1968-9), 180-5.

27. El mito de Faetón en la literatura española (Madrid, 1961).

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Chapter II

The Thirteenth Century: *cuaderna vía* works, the *Semeiança del mundo* and the *General estoria*

Constant wars against the Moors had retarded Spain's cultural development in comparison with that of France. However, victory was largely achieved in the first half of the thirteenth century and this change in the military field was mirrored by a deeper interest in and growth of Spain's economy and education: the first half of the thirteenth century saw the expansion of monasteries and the formation of the universities of Palencia, Salamanca and Valladolid. This educational expansion was aided by the fact that at the beginning of the century paper made its first appearance in Christian Spain; this was much cheaper than parchment or vellum and more widely available. Interest was shown in new verse forms from across the Pyrenees and thus, early in the thirteenth century, arose the *cuaderna vía* form in which the majority of thirteenth-century learned poems, or *mester de clerecía*, were written.[1] By the mid-thirteenth century, however, this poetic school seems to have lost its momentum, and the *clerecía* poems which survive from the second half of the century are very few and relatively unimportant. A partial explanation is the interest Alfonso el Sabio directed, in the second half of the century, to yet another innovation, that of the composition of substantial prose works in the vernacular, possibly aimed at the increasing number of people who could read Spanish but not Latin.[2] It is probable that the energy expended on *cuaderna vía* poems in the first half of the thirteenth century was transferred to prose literature in the second half of the century. Both these forms

were based on learned sources.

The greater part of cuaderna vía poems contains no mythology: Berceo's works are religious in content and the Poema de Fernán González, about the hero's military and political struggle against Navarre and León, although part of it may have been based on the Libro de Alexandre, contains no mythological references. The works which remain, the Libro de Alexandre and the Libro de Apolonio, can however, be discussed with reference to mythology.

Libro de Alexandre

The classical subjects which enjoyed the greatest popularity in the Middle Ages were the life of Alexander the Great and the Trojan War.[3] These subjects appear in the Spanish Libro de Alexandre.[4] The Spanish poet used as the main source for his life of Alexander, Gautier de Châtillon's Alexandreis, written in Latin between 1178 and 1182.[5] This was supplemented by the French poem, Roman d'Alexandre,[6] and a Latin prose work, the Historia de Preliis. The poet also incorporated into his work the story of the Trojan War, for which he chiefly used the Ilias Latina. I shall first study the main story of Alexander and its relationship to mythology, and then that of the war of Troy: it should then be easy to see how the two are well integrated to form the complex structure of the Spanish poem.

Gautier de Châtillon presents to his reader a great classical warrior; the Spanish poet, however, produces a medieval monarch, destroyed by treachery, a common reason for fallen greatness in the Middle Ages, and by his own sin, his flaw of pride and cobdiçia, that is his eternal striving for that which God has forbidden man.

The poet achieves this, as we shall see, more by including Christian and medieval aspects than by excluding classical details. Although Gautier's work did contain some Christian references, for example a mention of St Paul (I.208), Gautier's prayer for a Christian leader equal to Alexander (V.510-20), and some biblical references, in the Spanish work there are well over a hundred references to God, the Saints or to biblical episodes including details of Heaven, Hell and the seven deadly sins. For example, God is asked for help: 962, 1624d; [7] he cures Alexander's wound: 2262cd; he is relied on for success: 928a, 988b, 1079d, 1183c, 1429a, 1449b; he is also given thanks for blessings received: 1442 (MS. O), 2626. Even in Aristotle's speech to Alexander, thoroughly pagan in the Latin, there are many references to God: 54c, 55d, 57d, 62c etc. In Gautier's work Alexander, in his last oration, says that Jupiter is calling him to Olympus to help Mars defend the abode of the Gods (X.405-17), but in the Spanish the speech is entirely Christian:

> Sere del rey del çielo alta mente rresçebido
> quando a mi aya tenersa guarido
> sere en la su corte honrrado e seruido
> todos me laudaran por que non fue vençido. (2631)

Alexander, however, failed to realize that God was not about to receive him, for he had condemned his sin of pride (2329-30). Gautier used the mythological figure of Natura to bring about Alexander's downfall but the Spanish poet, though unable to abandon the role of Natura, could not allow her to be the instigator of Alexander's downfall, for he could not allow a mythological personage an active role in his work: Willis says that the Spanish poet had no scruples over mentioning pagan gods in his poem but that he did discriminate against the use of the

device of deus ex machina or other forms of contact between the gods and men in the Alexander story itself except where he could adapt the material to Christian tradition.[8] In the Natura episode the poet changed the tone of his source material in which Natura, annoyed that Alexander wished to know her secrets, of her own volition decided to bring about his downfall (X.1-30), and turned Natura into more of a medieval allegorical figure controlled by God.[9] It becomes God who is the instigator of Alexander's downfall:

> Peso al Criador que cria la Natura
> ovo de Alixandre saña e grant rencura
> dixo a este lunatico que non cata mesura
> yol tornare el gozo todo en amargura. (2329)
>
> Quando vio la Natura que al señor pesaua
> ovo grant alegria maguer triste andaua (2331ab)
>
> Bien veye que por ome nunca serie vengada
> que moros e judios temien la su espada
> asmo que echasen vna mala çelada
> buscar commo le diesen collaçion enconada. (2332)

Hades, to which Natura descends in Gautier, becomes a Christian Hell in which Pluto becomes Satan, and Hell is interpreted thus:

> Asas es fiera pena non conosco mayor
> de nunca veyer ome la cara de nuestro señor
> commo al que la veye es gloria e dulçor
> asi es a los otros pena e dolor. (2421)

On the other hand, classical details of Hades are retained though still with some Christian overtones. As examples of accidia appear Niobe (2390b), who was turned into stone through grief, and Phyllis (2390c), who was turned into a tree. The poet interprets the metamorphoses of Niobe and Phyllis in Christian terms, that they were symbolic of their being condemned to Hell:

> Non quiso el actor dezir que son dapnados
> que los que a infierno son vna ves leuados
> dixo que por encubierta que son en el tornados
> asas puede el ome dezir que son dapnados. (2392)

Tityus too is retained; he is seen in Hell having his liver eaten twelve times each day by vultures, and each time renewed (2416). The poet comments that it would have been much better for him to have died but that he was not allowed to, he had to suffer (2417). As an example of gluttony there is an allusion to Tantalus (2386): there are those who, in reach of food and water, are still starving and thirsting.

As in the case of Natura, the Fates, Fortune, Victoria and Filosoffa are retained, for they can be adapted to medieval concepts and into medieval allegorical figures. The concept of destiny was prominent in the medieval mind and provided that Fate was seen to be ultimately controlled by God it was acceptable:[10]

> Si quisiese el fado prestar la mayor vida
> poblara por aventura Troya la destroyda
> mas sabe Dios los oms tener en tal medida
> que non da a ninguno prosperidat conplida. (2468)

For this reason, therefore, thirty-three references to the Fates are retained in the Spanish poem. From this large number, only four references can definitely be attributed to the classical Fates. The first of these is the mention of the Fates making Alexander's brial and camisa (100, 101), an exception to Willis' rule that mythological personages did not take part in the action of the Spanish poem. This passage is original to the Spanish poet, as the Roman d'Alexandre source that he was using at this point included people from Arthurian, Celtic and Carolingian sources, and therefore the poet replaced them by examples that better suited his poem. It could be, too, that the poet deliberately linked the Fates with the making of his hero's clothes to foreshadow the air of destiny surrounding him. The other three references to the classical Fates occur when they are mentioned

by name. In 1045-6 there were so many dead that Atropos had lost count of them, and neither Clotho nor Lachesis (Alays in the Spanish) had ever seen so much strength united.[11] Later in 1123d, there is a further description of the great numbers of dead in the battle and here it is said that Atropos had many threads of life to sever. Victoria, from taking an active part in Gautier's poem, appears as a medieval allegorical figure in the Spanish, governed by God. After the successful battle with Memnon, Alexander is made to say:

> Lo que dona Vitoria nos ouo prometido
> avelo Deus graçias leal mente atenido. (966ab)

Such passages as Gautier, IV.401-53, where Victoria noted Alexander's anxiety over the battle with Darius and asked Somnus to lull him to sleep, are missing in the Spanish; in place of this passage is a brief mention that she soothed him (1305). Doña Filosofía also appears as an allegorical figure in the Spanish to make Alexander's belt (91). Fortuna, on the whole, is used as an allegorical figure too, just as Mena will use her two centuries later in Laberinto de Fortuna. The direct discourse spoken by her in Gautier as in II.186-200, when she reproached the men for their despair over Alexander's illness, is rejected by the Spanish poet. He, on the other hand, has the men attacking Fortuna for striking down Alexander: never again will they trust her, at which she is incensed, and awakens Alexander from his swoon:

> Touos dona Fortuna mucho por denostada
> vio que eran neçios non dio por ello nada
> fue tornando la rrueda que jazie trastornada
> fue abriendo los ojos el rey vna vegada. (895)

Here, therefore, although Fortuna was not allowed to address the men, she was given the power to act, another exception to Willis'

rule. However, in the attack on Sudrata, Gautier has Fortuna coming to Alexander's aid (IX.380-3), whereas in the Spanish God accompanies Fortuna:

> Dios e la su ventura que lo quiso prestar
> vio vn olmo viejo çerca de sy estar. (2232ab)

The wheel of Fortune, prominent in the medieval mind, is discussed in detail in 1652-3, in Darius' speech to his army at Bactra, sparked off by a mention of sors in the Latin (VI.312-15). There are further references to the wheel of Fortune in 1806-7 , 1924 and 2523.

Also medievalized to a very large extent is the episode of the visit of Thalestris to Alexander. Given that, as Willis says, the Spanish poet omitted any direct action of mythological figures in the main story, it appears strange that he should have included this episode. It may be that because this episode was in his source he felt that he had to include it, but this is unlikely as he rejected other episodes. It is therefore possible that along with other writers of the Middle Ages he accepted the Amazons as an actual race, and thus felt justified in retaining this episode as historical rather than mythological.[12] Here the poet mixed classical and medieval elements. The details of the Amazons' life are entirely classical: they sleep with men three times a year, and if the resultant child is a girl they keep her but if it is a boy he is sent to his father. They dress as men and are good warriors, and they remove their right breast to facilitate fighting (1864-70). The physical description of Thalestris, on the other hand, is original to the Spanish and is entirely medieval. It would appear to conform to the medieval rhetorical methods of describing women, but this

type of description may well have been a commonplace.[13] First they are described from afar and then there is a detailed description beginning with the top of the head and progressing downwards (1872-9). Alexander and Thalestris address each other as medieval monarchs would have done: he promises her wealth and honour but she replies: "non vin ganar averes, nin soy juglaresa"(1884b). The countryside simile also serves to give this episode a contemporary flavour:

> la rosa del espino que es tan genta flor
> al maytin al ruçio non paresçie mejor. (1878cd)

Although the poet included the details of Thalestris' visit he could not accept the idea of Alexander's divine paternity. Gautier, III.253-7, suggested that Alexander might be the son of Jupiter Ammon.[14] The Spanish poet did, however, recognize that this story existed, for Cleadas of Thebes says: "Semeias a los dioses que ende as natura" (233b), but he did not elucidate it. Michael explains this with the idea that the medieval mind would not accept such illegitimacy as consistent with the nobility of Alexander, nor as a bastard could he be accepted as claimant to the throne of Macedon (pp. 32-4). However, the idea of mystery surrounding a ruler's origin was not unknown and similar stories abound concerning the paternity of Arthur and Charlemagne. Another point of medievalization in the poem is the poet's use of <u>don</u> or <u>doña</u> for the mythological deities: dona Juno (343a) and dona Palas (343b), though he is not consistent for 343c has Venus.

Having considered the mythological material that the Spanish poet medievalized or Christianized, let us now turn to the mythological material which he left untouched, and even to some

that was original to the Spanish work. I shall also study the different ways in which it was used by the poet. Of the classical allusions which are retained in the Spanish the most popular are for comparative purposes. The most commonly utilized person for comparison was Hercules. In three places Hercules' strength is used to emphasize Alexander's physical prowess: 15d merely mentions his strength but 27 tells of his strangling the serpents in his cradle,[15] while in 1197-8 there are allusions to the Lernaean Hydra and Antaeus. In 1197 Alexander is so astounded by the number of heathens that he feels that as soon as he kills one a hundred will spring up just as happened with the seven-headed serpent. The implication is that just as Hercules overcame the Hydra so will Alexander overcome the heathen. In 1198 it is stated that Hercules overcame Antaeus who gained strength as he fought and similarly Alexander will overcome Darius, however strong he seems. After the capture of Sudrata and Alexander's injuries, Clateus tries to persuade Alexander not to go on fighting by using once again the popular legend of Hercules, this time his fight with a boar:

> Non es honrra nin presçio pora ome honrrado
> meterse a aventura en lugar desaguisado
> non li cayera presçio a Etor el famado
> de yr se a abraçar con vn puerco lodado. (2279)

Alexander replies, comparing himself with two more classical heroes, Achilles and Ulysses, and by a reference to the story of Troy. In 2286 Alexander believes that by conquering Darius and Porus he has overshadowed the story of Troy. He compares his situation with that of Achilles:

> Non conto yo mi vida por años nin por dias
> mas por buenas faziendas e cauallerias
> non escriuio ome[16] en sus alegorias
> los meses de Archiles mas las caualleryas. (2288)

Later, while Alexander is at sea, storms blow up, and the poet reminds the reader that Ulysses, even during ten years of wandering, did not experience such trials as Alexander, but that he came through victorious (2304). Troy and its heroes, then, are yardsticks by which Alexander's career is measured. He himself uses it as a comparison, but it increases his sin of pride to find that having achieved his dream of overshadowing Troy he feels he must then go on to discover the secrets of the sea and the air.

Only four other mythological characters are used for comparative purposes. Orpheus' skill in the art of singing occurs twice. First, to emphasize the sweet singing of the birds in the golden tree: they sang so sweetly that even Orpheus would have had difficulty competing with them (2138). Secondly, to emphasize Thalestris' beauty: the poet admits that he cannot describe her beauty adequately but he feels that even Orpheus who made the trees sing would have found the task impossible (1879).[17] The beauty of Thalestris is compared with that of Philomela (1874c). This is a surprising comparison for it would seem to be original to the Spanish and she was not a popular character in the early Middle Ages, possibly because of the unpleasant nature of the myth.[18] In 1962c there is a dubious reference to Midas, dubious because only MS. O contains Midas, while MS. P has Darius. The bridal bed made by Apelles is said to have been so richly wrought that even the possessions of Midas/Darius could not compare with it. The fourth character used for comparative purposes is Jupiter. In 1918, the people from Cilicia come to greet Alexander and say that he could even take the lands and

sea from Jupiter.[19]

Turning now to figures used for exemplary purposes, we find that these too come principally from the Trojan cycle with only three examples from other popular myths. In Gautier, Aristotle's advice to Alexander contained many references to pagan gods: Mars, I.118,140; Venus, I.167,169; Bacchus, I.167. The Spanish poet, however, retained only the examples of Hector (70a), and Diomedes (70a), who because of their chivalry were still spoken of, and Achilles (70c) who, Aristotle says, would not have been so praised had he been a coward. After retelling the story of the Trojan War Alexander inspires his men with its lesson and reminds them that Ulysses and the others, wretched and tired though they were, did not succumb, but continued valiantly and achieved such success that it would always be recounted (766). To encourage his men to continue their journey Alexander brings to their memory that neither Hercules[20] nor Bacchus would have reached Spain or India if they had not shown great bravery and been prepared to travel (256). Nor, he continues, would Jason have won the Golden Fleece if he had not ventured along new paths (258cd).

It is to be noted that all the figures used for exemplary purposes so far have occurred in direct speech. The only remaining mythological characters used for this purpose appear in the description of Hell. This has been changed from a mythological Hades to a Christian Hell, transforming Pluto into Satan, including conventional Christian details of Hell but also including examples from mythology, which I have already studied (see above, pp.27-8). The poet sees this episode as an exemplary one, warning people away from the sins which will lead to this torture:

Que mucho vos queramos del infierno dezir
non podriamos el diezmo de su mal escreuir
mas devemos a Dios la su merçed pedir
que nunca nos lo dexe ensayar nin sentir. (2423)

When we come to the use of mythology in descriptions we find that out of nine descriptions by Gautier in which some mythological phenomenon is used to represent a concrete phenomenon, eight are replaced literally in the Spanish, for example:

Si Baccho Venerique vacas, qui cetera subdis
Sub iuga veniste, (I.167-8)

becomes:

Nyn seas enbriago nin seas ventanero
si aquesto non fazes non valdras vn dinero. (58ad)

The one exception is probably the first description of its kind in Spanish; the kind will later be developed fully by the fifteenth-century writers:

Iamque sub aurora volucrum garrire parabat
Et lucem tenui praecedere lingua susurro:
Lucifer emeritae confinia noctis agebat,
Astrorumque fugam solis praecursor anhelo
Maturabat equo ... (I.427-31)

becomes:

Ia yua aguisando don Avrora sus claues
tollia los cauallos don Fepo los dogales. (298ab)

It may be significant that this was the first such description by Gautier, and perhaps the Spanish poet changed his mind in the treatment of the descriptions as he progressed. The Spanish poet retained some of the physical descriptions of location or background but many were rejected. As in the case of the retained description of time it is significant that the main description of place to be retained is right at the beginning of the poem: when Alexander comes to Thebes, Cleadas reminds him of his famous ancestors who came from there:

Elçides tu ahuelo de aqui fue natural
Diomedes el noble Archiles otro tal
villa de do tales yxen non deuie yr a mal. (238abc)

In the following stanza he adds don Bacchus, born in Thebes,

who conquered India. Such enumerative description is omitted when places are visited in the rest of the poem, the only exceptions being the introduction to the Troy episode and the palace near the oracle of the trees which was founded by Phoebus and his sister Diana (2478). The description of Alexander's tent is mostly derived from the Roman d'Alexandre. The feats of Hercules have obviously interested the poet, for they are described in some detail (2568-70). First there is the attempt by his stepmother to kill him: she sent serpents to him in his cot, hoping that he would be suffocated, but he managed to strangle them both with his hands. He grew up very strong, won many battles, founded his pillars in the West and overthrew Antaeus. This mention of the Antaeus episode was original, in this position, to the Spanish; it was an episode that the Spanish poet had used earlier, in 1198, as a comparison to urge Alexander to conquer Darius. On the tent walls there also appears a short résumé of the Troy story (2571-4). Paris is seen to be carrying off Helen, and the Greeks, to avenge this wrong, fight against the Trojans for ten years. Achilles killed Hector, but was himself killed; the horse was built and Troy taken by a trick and destroyed. According to Willis, in this version the poet diverges considerably from the French but because of the extreme condensation it is impossible to single out the version of the Troy story that he followed (Relationship, p. 43).

Despite the fact that, as I have shown, the Spanish poet was making a conscious effort to reject material not of a classical source, he did not completely succeed in doing this. In some descriptions there are overtones of Arthurian and Oriental sources. In the description of Alexander's arms both Michael (p. 196)

and Willis[21] note that in this episode the poet rejected the obviously Celtic material in his source, the Roman d'Alexandre, for example Rambaut de Frise (263,728), King Arthur (360) and Cornwall (359), and the fact that Alexander's sword had been brought to Macedon by a fairy (345-54).[22] The Spanish poet does say Vulcan made the sword (the French says Penthesilea) but he goes on to say that it was:

> encantada
> la pared do ella fuese nunca serie rancada.
> No es nigunt mercador nin clerigo descuela
> que pudies poner presçio a la vna espuela
> ouiera Alixandre dallen mar vna ahuela
> a esa gelas dieron quando fuera mocuela. (94-5)

This reference to "dallen mar vna ahuela" is not in the French. It is interesting to note, therefore, that despite its Celtic overtones, the Spanish poet has introduced this of his own accord. He continues in the same vein: on the shield "ally era debuxada la tierra e el mar" (96b) and the camisa was made "so el mar" (100a), and whoever wore it was always loyal and never tempted by lust. Anyone who wore the brial was always loyal and never suffered from cold or heat (101), and the manto protected the wearer from fear (102). All these of course are magical qualities typical of Arthurian literature. There is also an allusion to Arthurian romance in the episode of Pausonias' treachery, for after he had done the deed he vanished:

> sy vino en las nuues o lo aduxo el viento
> o lo aduxo la fada por su encantamiento. (177ab)

These magic qualities and the references to enchantments from overseas are all in the vein of Celtic folk motifs, although Stith Thompson has no examples exactly like those in the Spanish poem.[23] It is possible that the Celtic material in his source influenced the poet, who, unconsciously maybe, introduced new

magical material into his work in the same vein as his source.

While using the Historia de Preliis as a source the poet introduces into his work a substantial amount of Oriental material. From this work, however, the poet rejected much of the more fantastic material (Debt, p. 56): Olympia's infidelity, Philip's infatuation with Cleopatra and Alexander's affair with Candace, all of which involve the principal characters in unreal situations which we have seen the poet was at pains to avoid. He did, however, retain descriptions from this work which did not directly involve the characters of the story. For example, in Libya Alexander saw a fountain which was hot in winter and cold in summer, which had appeared after Bacchus had prayed to God for water (1169-73). He also saw birds in an artificial tree which were made to sing by means of air blown through tubes cunningly affixed to the roots of the tree (2133-9). The fountain guarded by serpents that Alexander came to and the perilous valley are both reminiscent of Celtic mythology, the one being the entrance to the underworld, the other a test for loyalty (2156-79).

The poet's description of the world as a man, as seen by Alexander from his flying basket, raises much discussion regarding its source (2508-13). It has its parallel in the Teutonic creation myth, but the two versions are too different to be able to trace a direct relationship, although they may have a common source. Willis says that this story seems to have been drawn from some recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes, for the details are not in the Historia de Preliis (Debt, pp. 39-41). However, as Michael says, it would be startling if, in addition to his other abilities, the poet was also able to read Pseudo-Callisthenes in the Greek; it is much more likely that he either invented the details

spontaneously or found them in some derivative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, now lost (p. 21). E. K. Wright upholds the view of spontaneity by saying that the comparison between the structure of the earth and the figure of a man was a conceit that enjoyed considerable vogue in the literature of the Middle Ages.[24] Francisco Rico sees in this episode not simply a learned digression but a key to the structure of the whole poem, for he says: "Alejandro, en efecto, logró alzarse a ver el mundo en figura de hombre: y ganó y conoció al mundo, pero no al hombre que era él mismo".[25]

The Troy digression is the first literary manifestation of the legend in Spanish. At a first glance one may well believe that it could have been inserted later, even written by a different poet; and in fact it could stand alone, being a vernacular reworking of the Ilias Latina. However, when the work is studied in detail it will be seen that it is an integral part of the Alexander poem itself. According to Willis (Relationship, p. 59), the verse and linguistic features conform with those of the entire Alexandre. It could have been suggested to the poet by the mention of Homer (Gautier, I.483), just as other interpolations were suggested by the context of the Alexandreis. Throughout the Alexandre, parallels are drawn between the main story and that of Troy. Paris was, we are told, first called Alexandre: "Solienlo Alixandre de primero clamar" (360a). Peter Bly and A. D. Deyermond note the similarity between the portents at the two births, their royal nature revealed in their infancy, their learning and valour and the fact that they both fell through pride.[26] The victory of his ancestors over the Trojans is glorified by Alexander to encourage his men to greater things. After telling his story he says:

Sienpre qui la grant cosa quisiere acabeçer
por perdida quel venga non deue rrecreer
el ome que es firme todo lo puede vençer
podemos desta cosa pro de enxenplos veyer. (767)

and he promises that they themselves will have even greater fame:

Tant grant sera el presçio que vos acabaredes
que quanto estos fizieron por poco lo ternedes.(770ab)

To persuade his reluctant men to cross the seas after the capture of Sudrata, Alexander again speaks of the Trojan War, for by conquering Porus and Darius his men have overshadowed their ancestors:

Mager a mi seruistes quando a Poro domastes
quando a Dario viniestes e las bestias rrancastes
la estoria troyana con esto la çegastes
honrrastes a vos mis mismos nuestro presçio alçastes. (2236)

He continues:

non escriuio ome(ro) en sus alegorias
los meses de Archiles mas las cauallerias (2288cd)

Again Troy is seen on the tent walls and:

Quando el rey Alixandre estas gestas veye
creçiel el coraçon grant esfuerço cogie
dizie que por su pleito vn clauo non darie
sy non se mejorasemorir se dexarie. (2575)

In Aristotle's speech, Alexander's bravery is compared with that of the heroes of the Trojan War, Hector, Achilles and Diomedes (70).

In the Middle Ages, one of the commonest and most spectacular causes of fallen greatness was treason. This theme runs through the Alexander story itself and that of the Trojan War. For example, there is treachery against Philip, the men of Thebes broke their treaty with Macedonia, the men of Tyre kill Alexander's messenger, there are three attempts on Alexander's life; there is treason in Paris' deception of Menelaus and abduction of Helen, in Hector's death and in the actual fall of Troy with the trick of the horse. In each of the eleven cases of treason studied by Michael (pp.74-84) the formulae used are similar. Treason also overturns the social

order; the world prepares the way for sin and cobdiçia, and the themes of sin, cobdiçia and treason are thus linked in the poem as a whole. It is Paris' sin and cobdiçia that brought about his downfall, just as it was Alexander's.

Troy is also a symbol of pride: the Trojans thought that they could perpetrate a malicious abduction with the help of the gods, Priam thought that he could outwit the Fates by sending his son away to be killed, and the mother of Achilles believed that she could avoid her son's fated death. Equally Alexander becomes so imbuedwith pride that he wishes to penetrate the realms of the gods which results in his downfall. The poet of the Alexandre, Dorothy Clotelle Clarke says, sees his hero's desire to know Natura's cosmological secrets and to understand the functions of natural phenomena as a supreme example of the sin of pride which merits death. She continues that the poet, though eager to display his own learning, considers one's having superior knowledge a sin, whereas later Mena is concerned with one's using knowledge for the proper ends.[28] Alexander's flaw is that he does not know when to stop, which is, of course, the theme of fallen greatness: he is a great man but because of his flaw he brings about his own destruction. His fall is preceded and foreshadowed by the falls of Hector, Achilles, Troy and Darius.

The poet clearly intended the Trojan War to be an integral part of his work, for he has subjected this episode to the same methods of medievalization and Christianization as the rest of the work. There are twenty-nine clear Christian references, including references to God as opposed to los dioses. In the duel of Ajax and Hector the Spanish poet has God to bring on nightfall in order to call a halt to the fighting (589c), but in the Ilias Latina

Titan is used (617).[29] Eris has become the Christian Sin; Priam asks God to keep Hector from evil (455d); Agamemnon asks God for help (555b); and other examples can be found. There is a Christian comparison in the statement about Hector helping Paris:

> non ayuda al clerigo mejor el moneçillo
> que ayuda a Etor Paris el su hermanillo. (632cd)

God the Creator and Deo Gratias are mentioned many times. The account of Achilles' concealment among the ladies at the court of Lycomedes in Scyros also takes on a Christian aspect. The source of this passage is uncertain, but the way in which the court is changed into a convent and the ladies into nuns would seem to be characteristic of the Spanish poet (412-16). As a result of this change the gifts brought by Ulysses in his search for Achilles are changed into merchandise that he offers for sale to the nuns. Priam also prays to God after hearing of Hecuba's fateful dream:

> Alçe a Dios sus manos e fizo vn pedido
> rey padre e señor dixo merçet te pido
> si este lugar ha de seyer destroydo
> que mates a mi ante que asaz he beuido. (351)

There is some confirmation for the supposition that it was the Spanish poet who introduced the ecclesiastical element here, for when, later in the poem, Achilles withdraws from the battle for a second time the poet mentions the nunnery again, although it is not in Ilias Latina. The prayer of Hecuba and the Trojan women, requested by Hector in order to placate the gods, is entirely pagan in the Latin (546-52), but in the Spanish it is thoroughly Christianized (567-8).

In accordance with his treatment of the intervention of gods in the Alexandreis, the Spanish poet considerably reduces the action of the gods that he finds in the Latin.[30] For example in Ilias Latina Pallas prevents Achilles from killing Agamemnon

(73-9); Thetis begs Jupiter to help take revenge on Agamemnon (80-92); the gods discuss the battle and feast (96-110); Venus saves Paris in his duel with Menelaus (309-11); Diomedes is helped by Pallas and Mars (394-400); by sending down a mist, Venus saves Aeneas from Diomedes (463-5); Hector is saved in his fight against Ajax by Apollo (614-15); Neptune helps the Greeks (772-8); Apollo strips Patroclus after Hector has killed him (830). All that remains in the Spanish is that Pallas and Venus keep alongside Menelaus and Paris in their duel but even here it is the Trojans who save Paris after he has been defeated (477-91); Pallas and Juno are mentioned as being pleased with Diomedes (517d); Pallas helps Achilles kill Hector (666-715), and the role of Venus is retained in some detail. Venus puts mist before the face of Diomedes so that he cannot kill Aeneas but she herself is wounded in the hand by Diomedes (543-6). This is alluded to later when the poet says that the Trojans had no help from Venus because she was waiting for her hand to heal (630d). Pallas also is seen to assume the guise of Paris so that Hector would give her his sword; this deception resulted in Hector's death (679-81).

Not only is there deliberate exclusion of the majority of the actions of the gods but also, as in the rest of the poem, the poet introduces into this episode some medieval aspects. Hector is called a "fidalgo mas conplido" (719b). The poet claims that the Greeks were more pleased with the booty brought back by Diomedes and Ulysses, "que ganar toda Françia" (624b). As Michael says (p. 184), when Menelaus and Paris fight their duel it becomes a medieval tourney, in a spot outside Troy which the poet has revisualized in his contemporary landscape:

Iasieles entre medio vn fermoso valleio
rrico de mucha libre e de mucho conejo
otorgaronse todos que era buen consejo
que Menelao e Paris alli fiziesen trebeio. (475)

The signs of grief of Achilles at Patroclus' death are medieval and he is embalmed and buried with a Christian funeral (647-51). Later in the war the poet turns the fight between Achilles and Hector and the other Trojans into a medieval military engagement (669-70). The funeral games after Hector's death are replaced with medieval games, jousting, tourneys, chess and dice (715). The gods and goddesses at the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis are joined by medieval nobility and minstrelsy:

dueñas e caualleros duques e duquesas
rreys muchos e condes rreynas e condesas
auie ay vn grant pueblo solo de juglaresas. (336bcd)

The dress of Venus is medieval in its description (378), and much of the description of the armour of Achilles is in medieval terms:

vistiose vna loriga de azero colado
terlis e bien texida el almofre doblado. (660bc)

Por defender lascanbas calço las brafoneras
calcaronli las espuelas del cauallo guerreras
fizolas enlazar con firmes trabugeras. (661abc)

Many other examples have been studied by Michael (pp. 176-248), so I shall not comment further on the poet's medievalization of the Trojan story.

Michael shows that the same types of image appear in the Trojan War episode as in the rest of the work, taken from animal life, domestic life, business and crafts, and from the Spanish countryside familiar to the poet (pp. 222-38). For example, such comparisons as Alexander to a lion (14b) are also used for Menelaus (509b) and Diomedes (517a). There are other parallels between the two stories: the lives of Alexander and Paris, as I have shown, and the brotherly love between the twins

Nicanor and Simacus (1993) reminds the reader of the love between Patroclus and Achilles who were willing to die for each other.[31]

The poet of the Alexandre treated the material of all his sources in a similar vein in his endeavour to create a realistic poem that would be identifiable to his medieval audience or reader. Anything too fantastic such as contact between pagan gods and men was, to a very large extent, rejected by the poet in the main story and even in the Trojan War episode the action of the pagan deities was considerably reduced. Classical characters that were retained in the Alexander story were subjected to medieval allegorization. Although mythological examples were not entirely omitted, their presence in the Spanish was overshadowed by the introduction of a considerable amount of Christian material: the roles of the Christian and classical elements in the Latin were reversed in the Spanish. Further to appeal to his reader the poet included much medieval material. The Trojan War was successfully integrated into the poem as a whole for it stood as a yardstick by which Alexander could measure his achievements, a goal to attain and supersede. Its heroes were seen as examples of bravery, perseverance and achievement. Many parallels can be drawn between the two stories, principal of which are the themes of fallen greatness, pride and treason. The verse, linguistic features and images are the same in both. The Spanish poet also introduced into the Trojan War episode his methods of Christianization and medievalization. The poet was not adventurous in his use of mythological material: it was used only for comparative, exemplary and descriptive purposes, and there was little variety in the mythological figures used. Hercules was very popular together with protagonists of the Trojan War, but apart from these only Orpheus, Midas, Jupiter, Bacchus, Phoebus, Diana,

Jason, Philomela, Niobe, Phyllis, Tantalus, Thalestris, Tityus, Vulcan, Aurora and the three Fates appear in the Spanish. The result of the changes made by the Spanish poet, not to the story as a whole but by including his own details throughout the poem and excluding certain elements, altered his source material, which was mostly classical, to produce a medieval poem with a strong Christian, moralistic and didactic flavour.

Libro de Apolonio

The Libro de Apolonio is a Spanish version of the story of Apollonius which is in the tradition of the late classical Greek romance, although there is no extant Greek original of the story.[32] The main source for the Spanish version is a Latin work from the late classical period, based on the Greek tradition, entitled Historia Apolonii regis Tyri;[33] the oldest extant representation of this is a tenth-century manuscript though it was composed not later than the fifth century and probably as early as the third.[34] As with the story of Alexander, that of Apollonius was a popular subject in the Middle Ages though it never reached the heights of popularity of Alexander's. There were medieval texts in Latin and in almost all the vernacular European languages, including three extant Spanish versions. There was the thirteenth-century version to be studied here, the Historia de Apolonio, a prose version of the fifteenth century, and the Apollonius section of the Confisyón del amante. There is also a prose version by Juan de Timoneda, printed in 1567. Alfonso el Sabio intended to include a prose version of the Apollonius story in Part V of his General estoria: Part IV ends with an outline of the story's opening and a statement that it is

to be the first item of the following Part, but it seems to be lost.

Ben E. Perry criticizes Historia Apolonii regis Tyri for the "mechanical methods of combination and the disregard for natural sequence and motivation shown by the Latin author in putting together episodes that had been shaped in other contexts".[35] However, A. D. Deyermond shows that LAp greatly reduced the internal contradictions and gave the work a structural unity, but that it retained some arbitrary motivation owing to the traditions of the Greek plot.[36] As Deyermond has shown, the story is rich in folk-motifs: there are four main ones. The first is that of the trial, resulting in great reward or terrible punishment, the second the incest theme, the third that of the riddle and the last the shameful secret. As parallels can be found between this story and the folklore of many countries as well as the Greek myths it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions from comparisons between the folk-motifs of LAp and those of Greek myth. For example, the description of the heads stuck on palings outside the palace has its parallel in the myth of King Oenomaus who adorned his palace with the skulls of his daughter's suitors, but similar descriptions can also be found in Finnish, Lithuanian, Danish, Irish, Rumanian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian and other folk-lore. Even today, children's stories contain allusions to such folk-lore details; for example, in Beatrix Potter's Tale of Samuel Whiskers, Moppet and Mittens hang up the tails of the mice they catch on the barn door, to show how many they have caught. It is, however, interesting to note one of the parallels which is not found in many folk-tales other than that of Greek mythology, that is the motif of the shameful secret.

There is only one close parallel with the Apollonius story and that is in the myth of King Minos of Crete and the Minotaur. Both the kingdoms of Antioch and Crete are on the outside seemingly admirable but on the inside are hiding a sexually perverse secret; because of its perversity the hostility towards the man who discovers it is intense: this is a theme popular in the Middle Ages, concerned with the inner meaning of things, but it is not original to the poet and therefore must not be seen as the direct influence of the Greek myth. In the same way, even where the events of the story, for example, Apolonio's shipwreck and his survival leading him to a woman, closely resemble the story of Ulysses, the details are common to Greek romances and therefore no direct influence should be seen from the Ulysses story.

Although there were already some Christian elements in the Latin source the Spanish poet introduced more, for example the message of the Angel was elaborated.[37] Artiles and Marden see the constant references to God and the Christian religion as evidence that the poet was part of monastic life (pp. 131 and XIX). Like the poet of the Alexandre this poet succeeded in Christianizing his source by omitting some mythological elements: the storm Apollonius encounters in the Latin is described with mythological allusions:

> Aeolus imbrifero flatu turbata procellis
> Corripit arua. Notus piceacaligine tectus
> Scinditque omne latus pelagique uolumina uersat.
> Auster...
> Voluitur hinc Boreas, nec iam mare sufficit Euro,
> Et freta disturbata sibi inuoluit harena. (XI.20.3-8)
>
> Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc Africus horridus instat.
> Ipse tridente suo Neptunus spargit harenas.
> Triton terribili cornu cantabat in undis. (XI.21.3-6)

But in the Spanish there is no trace of any classical allusion:

Quanto tenien dos horas abez auian andado,
Boluieron se los vientos, el mar fue conturbado;
Andauan las arenas al çiello leuantando;
Non auie hi marinero que non fuese conturbado.

Non les valien las ancoras que non podien trauar,
Los que eran maestros non podien gouernar;
Alçauan se las naues, querian se trastornar
Tanto que ellos mismos non se sabien conseiar. (108-9)

In the Latin Apollonius blames Neptune for his misfortunes:

"O Neptune, rector pelagi, hominum deceptor
Innocentium, propter hoc me reseruasti egenum et
Pauperem, quo facilius, rex
Crudelissimus Antiochus persequatur!" (XII.21.11-22.2)

In the Spanish, however, Apolonio blames sin and his own lack of judgement for bringing him to such a sorrowful state; he also blames himself for trusting in the deceitful sea, 114-20. In the Latin, when Apollonius arrives in Mytilene, having set sail after learning of Tharsia's death, he finds that the people are celebrating the festival of the Neptunalia (XXXIX.79.11); there is no mention of this in the Spanish. Likewise, Tharsia tells of her mother's funeral at sea by saying that her father sent her mother to Neptune in a coffin (XLIV.98.8); this allusion is omitted in the Spanish.[38] By excluding such pagan elements and introducing a Christian motivation, the Spanish poet managed to convert the purely arbitrary adventures of the Latin into something of a didactic romance as did the poet of the Alexandre.

The Spanish poet did retain two direct references to mythology, but as will be seen the presence of neither of these detracts from my contention that the poet deliberately excluded pagan elements. The first reference is to the Fates (137c). Apolonio has been shipwrecked at Pentapolín and has explained his position to a passing fisherman. The latter replies, speaking of the vicissitudes of this life, in typical medieval fashion, concerned with the wheel of Fortune and adds the hope that:

"Non te querrian las fadas, rey, desmanparar;
Puedes en poca dora todo tu bien cobrar." (137cd)

This mention of the Fates was not in the source and has probably been introduced by the poet more from a medieval standpoint of the inevitability of Fate as controlled by God than as a classical allusion, which would be unrealistic on the tongue of a peasant.[39] The other reference occurs when Luciana is said to be in the Temple of Diana, which is taken directly from the Latin (XXVII.53.11-13; XLVIII.105.8). The Spanish poet could have excluded the name of Diana just as he omitted the Latin comparison of Tharsia to Diana (XLVIII.106.15), but then the allusion to chastity would have been missing , which is a vital point of Luciana's refuge. Despite the mention of the name Diana, when the poet describes her temple the pagan element is overshadowed by the Christian one for it is clearly a convent of nuns and contains, it is said, both reliquaries and the psalter.[40]

In LAp, therefore, there is, though in a more diluted form and less accomplished manner than in the Alexandre, the same kind of attitude to the source material: the structure of the source material is tightened, unimportant mythological material is omitted and Christian material is introduced, so that the result is a Christian didactic work rather than a work of adventure for adventure's sake.

Semeiança del mundo

One of the earliest extant geographical works in Spanish is the Semeiança del mundo, composed soon after 1222.[41] The writer relies heavily on two sources: Honorius Inclusus' Imago Mundi and Isidore's Etymologiae.[42] The editors estimate that twelve percent of the work, consisting of introductory paragraphs,

summations and expansions, can be attributed to the writer's own imagination. They say that the writer exhibits no significant signs of originality, makes relatively few comments upon the factual content and generally limits his emendations to obvious expansion or the addition of names or etymologies. However, say the editors, it is more than a translation: several of the chapters are a network of various sources and a considerable portion of the work is only a paraphrase (pp. 14-20). Much of it is a rather loose translation in which the author attempts to expand and enliven the barren Latin of Honorius and Isidore. They say that five percent of the work is attributable to other Latin writers, two of whom were popular in the Middle Ages: Ovid and Lucan.

The Semeiança is a vision of the world, which is divided into five zones. The different parts of the world are described and there are details on the foundation of towns, on rivers, seas, the winds and the planets and on certain metals and precious stones that are found in the world. Fifty-five mythological characters are used, all of them for descriptive or etymological purposes. With each place that the author mentions there is a short reference to its founder or the etymology of its name. Thebes, he says, was founded by Cadmus, son of King Agenor (B83). Phrygia, we learn, was also called Dardania after Dardanus, son of Jupiter (55). Sometimes there is a little more detail as in the case of the Atlas mountains. They were named after King Atlas, an astrologer, who was said to hold the heavens on his shoulders while studying the stars. The author explains this by saying that the mountains are so high that they seem to support the sky and stars (131). Sometimes he adds a little description

to the place of which he is writing. In 42 he speaks of the Caucasian mountains by the Caspian Sea and adds that here lived the Amazons, who had one breast and fought as men. This is a typical example of the way in which he combines his sources, for the detail that they fight like men is in Imago Mundi while the detail that one breast was removed is in the Etymologiae. In 84, he says that the Muses studied near the fountain Aon and sacrificed to Phoebus. Apart from the stories of Hercules, Saturn and Phaethon, of which I shall speak later, there is very little elucidation of character or myth. Two examples will suffice to show the extent of elaboration if any. In 83, we learn that Thebes was founded when Cadmus sacrificed a cow to the gods in a field and founded a town there. In 153 the author says that Jupiter came to Naxos to quell the giants and that they were trying to overthrow him. They wanted to climb to the sky, capture the gods and force them to descend so that they could be gods in their place. It must be noted that the use of mythology in all these cases, and indeed in the majority of cases when it is used in the work, is not original to the author. All these details are to be found in his source material. The order of his work is original, however, and it is significant that the use of mythology increases as the work progresses, and that with this there is an increase in the number of times that the writer refers to his source to authenticate his facts. For example in 83 and 93, he refers to the "actores" for confirmation of the story of the foundation of Thebes, and of his account of Saturn, repectively. Although such references to the "actores" to substantiate a point became a topos in the Middle Ages, in the case of the author of the Semeiança it seems to shed some light on his attitude to

mythology as his use of this topos becomes more frequent as the mythological references increase. It would seem that he doubts the veracity of the myths and therefore feels a need to refer to authorities to reassure himself, and perhaps also his reader, of their historical value.

There are some original details in the work. The author adds a medieval element when he prefixes each of the deities with "don" or "donna", as did the poet of the Alexandre. He also reveals a euhemeristic attitude when he says that the Cyclops were an actual race which ate men and cattle alive (17). As I have already shown, he believes that Atlas was once an astrologer. Also in the Atlas passage can be seen an attempt to rationalize the myth in the tradition of the moralized Ovids.[43] This attitude can also be seen in 286 when he explains that people said there were dogs barking underneath Scylla simply because the sound of the waves breaking over the rocks sounded like dogs barking. As we have seen in the other thirteenth-century works, there is an introduction of Christian material, mixed with the pagan details. When the author speaks of Ephesus he says that it was founded by the Amazons and adds that here lived St John the Evangelist (52). In 39 he says that Thebes was founded by Cadmus and adds that St Maurice and other great knights came from Boeotia and fought against the pagans; in 60 we are told that don Perseo founded Tarsis and that the glorious apostle Paul lived there for some time. In 94 he says that Rome was founded by Romulus and on the outskirts of Rome is the Church of St John Lateran. Christian teaching also influences the writer's rendering of pagan myth, for we read that the hair of the Gorgons was turned to snakes because of their sins against the gods (137).

There are three passages in which the details are so different from those in the main sources that they cannot be explained by a variant manuscript. The stories of Saturn, Hercules and Phaethon are to be found in numerous works but none of those studied corresponds to the Spanish. Bull and Williams say that these three passages are the only ones that approach the Alfonsine style and they say that they derive from literary sources of significant stylistic merit. They do not, however, offer a possible source. In 141 the writer speaks of the island of Gades. He says that according to the "actores" Hercules came to Spain. He was powerful and conquered the whole of Spain until he came to Gades. Arriving there he saw that all ahead was sea so he erected two pillars and called them the Gades Hercules so that everyone should know that the great Hercules had conquered that far. This patriotic interest in Hercules appeared in the Alexandre and spread throughout the Middle Ages; it can be seen in most of the works that contain a substantial amount of mythology (see above, pp.14-15).

In 93 the Semeiança says that Italy was once called Saturnia after don Saturno. According to the "actores", there were four brothers, all gods; Saturn reigned in the sky, Pluto in hell and Triton in the sea, but Jupiter had no kingdom. As he was the most crafty he kicked Saturn from the sky so that he landed on earth. The place where he landed was called Saturnia or Italy. In no other version of the story that I know are the four gods brothers: in all the other cases Saturn is the father of Neptune, Pluto and Jupiter.

In 321 appears the story of Phaethon. The river Po, the author says, was once called the Eridanus by the Greeks, after

Eridanus, son of Jupiter who was also called Phaethon. He tells the story that Phaethon and Epaphus were friends. Epaphus accuses Phaethon of being a bastard, saying that he cannot prove his divine descent. Phaethon therefore goes to his mother Clymene who assures him that he is the son of the Sun and tells him to go and ask for himself. He does this and Phoebus, to prove his paternity, gives his son one wish. Phaethon asks to be allowed to drive his father's sun chariots and horses, and to light the world for a whole day. Phoebus realizes the folly of this, and tries unsuccessfully to dissuade his son, but has, reluctantly, to let him take the chariots. Phaethon loses control, goes off course and the world begins to burn. Phoebus strikes him down with a thunderbolt. He falls into a river which afterwards took his alternative name of Eridanus. This is clearly a myth to explain the origin of the name of this river, but the source of this particular detail of the myth is obscure. In no other versions of the myth that I know is Phaethon also called Eridanus, and elsewhere Eridanus appears as the son of Oceanus and Tethys. Nor was the river Eridanus always identified with the Po; it was sometimes identified with the Rhone. And so it seems either that the writer is making up some of his own details or that he had before him a source as yet unknown.

It is clear, then, that the author for the most part uses mythology as he finds it in his sources: for descriptive purposes and to explain the origins of places and names. Occasionally there is a small amount of elaboration. On three occasions he gives versions of myths and details that are not in his/known sources, revealing that he is using mythology with understanding and imagination and is not simply making a

translation. He also introduces some medieval elements into his work, which are original to him, in the same way as the poets of the Alexandre and LAp. He approaches mythology from a euhemeristic viewpoint and makes some attempt to explain some myths rationally. He reveals a patriotic attitude when speaking of Hercules and adds Christian details to balance his mythological explanations. He shows that he does perhaps doubt the veracity of the mythological details that he is using because his references to the "actores" increase in direct proportion to his use of mythology.

General estoria

Alfonso X came to the Castilian throne in 1252, at the age of 30; in both the political and literary worlds he was successful. He achieved some uniformity in the laws, which he codified in the vernacular. The Setenario, one of his earlier legal works, was concerned with ecclesiastical matters; it is an encyclopaedic treatment of the sacraments and a considerable part of the book is devoted to an explanation of various types of pagan nature worship. It is a combination of legal code and of an encyclopaedia and manual for priests. His most important legal work, however, was the Siete partidas. This formulates an encyclopaedic legal code and legislates for all aspects of national life: ecclesiastical, secular, civil and criminal. In a patriotic appeal Alfonso insisted that the vernacular should be used for official purposes and thus his scientific and historical works were written in the vernacular, an innovation for the time. He planned

two major historical works, the Estoria de España and the General estoria, which was planned as a full-scale history of the world. However, his aims were too great. The Estoria de España

was not completed in the way envisaged by Alfonso, for he turned his attention too soon to the General estoria, which itself was never completed: his team of translators, scholars and compilers found this dual task too great, when combined with scientific works on which they were also working.[45]

The Estoria de España had as its main source De rebus Hispaniae, a chronicle written by Ximénez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, known as el Toledano, and completed in 1243. It drew on Arabic sources and an alert and critical mind was applied to the sources. Alfonso also used as source material other medieval chronicles, the Bible, classical Latin historians and poets, ecclesiastical legends, Arabic historians and much vernacular epic. GE used as one of its sources the Estoria de España. It also used another chronicle, the Chronicon mundi, of Lucas, Bishop of Tŭy (el Tudense), completed in 1236. This drew on epics, biblical and classical history and the history of the Iberian peninsula in the Visigothic period and that of León and Castile afterwards. A. D. Deyermond says that like most of his predecessors, Lucas is content to accept what his sources tell him without exercising independent historical judgement (p. 86). Apart from these sources, those of GE were many and varied. The main one was the Old Testament while the plan of intermingling pagan and biblical material was probably based on the Historia scholastica of Petrus Comestor; also used were Eusebius' chronicle translated by Jerome and Josephus' Jewish Antiquities. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel says that Alfonso glosses Josephus' work which in turn glosses the Bible; both works draw a moral from the biblical stories. Allegory is less frequent in Josephus, and when Josephus and the Bible disagree Alfonso chooses the Bible. Also when Josephus substitutes indirect

speech for the word of God or the Angels then Alfonso returns to the words of the Bible.[46] He also used Cicero, Horace, Seneca and Sallust. For historical facts he used Lucan and Statius. Geographical details come from the Graphia auriae urbis Romae, which Alfonso calls the Libro de las noblezas e maravillas de Roma;[47] details also come from Isidore's Etymologiae, referred to as the Libro de las provincias.[48] Alfonso also used Dictys and Dares and many medieval writers: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Gautier de Châtillon, Peter Riga, and anonymous works such as the Historia de Preliis, Liber ystorium romanorum,[49] Roman de Thèbes and Libro de Alexandre.[50] One of Alfonso's major sources for mythological material was Ovid: he continually acknowledges him as his source. Nevertheless the GE's version of the Ovidian tales is often substantially different from the one that appears in Ovidian manuscripts printed today. What, then, was Alfonso's Ovidian source? Antonio G. Solalinde says that the Ovide moralisé was a source for much of the Ovidian material in the GE,[51] but this is disputed by Joseph Engels who dates the French work between 1316 and 1328, long after the GE was written.[52] Jonathon R. Ashton finds many additions in the GE's version of the Heroides which are not to be found in the numerous codices collated in the definitive editions of the work and he therefore suggests a putative codex AX as the Latin source used by Alfonso.[53] John R. Ginzler says that much of the additional material in the tales from the Metamorphoses which concerns descriptions and anachronistic elements is original to Alfonso.[54] This view partially coincides with that of Gardiner H. London and Robert J. Leslie who conclude that the additions to Ovidian material

in the GE fall into two categories: explanations to clarify the story or motivation of the characters and information added in an encyclopaedic manner. They think that though the former additions may have been original to the compilers the latter ones should be sought in the numerous commentaries on Ovid which existed at the time in histories or other versions of the same stories.[55] Alfonso himself at the beginning of his allegorical explanations tells us that his moral interpretations are based on the works of Juan el Inglés and the Friar. Solalinde says that these are the Integumenta of John of Garland and the Ovide moralisé (RFE, VIII (1921), pp. 285-8). Engels, however, suggests that these were one person who could have been Arnolphe d'Orléans, also a source of the Ovide moralisé.[56] The question of Ovidian sources is further complicated by the fact that GE is the work of a team, the members of which would presumably have approached their sources in individual ways. This would account for the fact that in some of the stories there are very few alterations to the basic Ovidian tales, while some of the others are very different. Ashton argues that the interpolated material and extensions in Alfonso's version of the Heroides are due both to the use of different sources and to the fact that, as the style shows, there was more than one translator.[57] Given the fact that even when we know that Alfonso is using a certain source we cannot be sure of any definite manuscript being used and the fact that still more material could have been culled from anonymous mythographers, it will be appreciated that the task of establishing a definite source for any particular passage is very difficult and often impossible.

GE was planned as a full-scale history of the world, but it breaks off when it reaches the parents of the Virgin Mary. Alfonso's

purpose in writing the work was to present history as a moral mirror for Christians; he says in his prologue that he wished to satisfy man's curiosity about his past so that he might find in the knowledge a guiding light to lead him to a better life. Thus he says that he has chosen from the ancient writers the most knowledgeable and most honest ones to use as sources for his work. To further his purpose he used both profane and biblical material from a variety of sources, as I have already said. Despite the fact that the two different cultures are so skilfully integrated, they are not evenly balanced: Biblical material predominates in Part I, pagan material in Part II. This is due, however, to Petrus Comestor who found much more pagan material to introduce into Joshua and Judges than he did into the Pentateuch. In Part II.ii, where the three books of Kings are reached, there is a predominance of biblical material.

The Old Testament is the framework into which the classical material has to be inserted, for example:

> Andados treynta e tres annos del cabdellado de Moysen, vn princep poderoso que auie nombre Dardano uino al logar o fue despues la cibdad de Troya, et gano la tierra. 58

This combination of biblical and pagan material occurs principally for matters of chronology, for example: the first Hercules was born before Moses and the second Hercules was great during the time of Moses (II.ii.1a7-b15); Hercules died 4138 years after the beginning of the world and Adam, 2048 years after Noah according to the Hebrews and 1898 according to the translators, 869 after Ninus, 826 after Abraham according to Eusebius, 1500 after the birth of Moses and 420 after the Israelites were released by the Egyptians (II.ii.46b9-37). However, examples can be found of places where this mixture is not for chronological reasons. While

speaking of the Egyptians Alfonso mentions the Libyan King Jupiter:

> e fue aquel rey Juppiter de quien contamos muchas cosas enel libro ante deste, et assi fazemos aqui e faremos aun adelante, ca tanto duro aquel rey e tan sabio et tan poderoso fue, e tantas cosas fizo por que auemos acontar del desta guisa. (I.241a3-9)

The dialogue between Pharaoh and Moses is greatly expanded and here we can again see the mixture of pagan and biblical material: Moses explains to Pharaoh that he cannot make sacrifices to his God to take away the plague of flies, for the Egyptians praise the bull Apis as their god, the cow Yo as their goddess and the sheep and goat for Jupiter their god and therefore they are not allowed to touch the animals that they would need to make a sacrifice. He agrees, however, to go some days' journey into the desert so that he can make such sacrifices and try to intercede for Pharaoh, providing that he will let the Israelites leave (I.337b8-29). Probably Alfonso found this explanation in his source, but it is not in the Old Testament and serves to illustrate the way in which the medieval mind saw the overlap of biblical and pagan religions. In the same vein Alfonso says that Ovid and others called Apollo Fito, meaning a soothsayer, as he was the first to use the art of divining and magic and thus soothsayers were called fitones; thus he says Saul overcame the fitones or soothsayers (II.ii.343a19-31).

The same techniques of interpolating interpretations are used in the biblical passages as in the pagan ones. For example after God has shown Adam the tree of knowledge and has told him that he will die if he eats of it, there is a digression during which Alfonso says:

> Aqui departe mahestre Pedro sobre estas palabras, que el omne ante que dela fruta de aquel aruol comiesse que non era mortal nin podrie morir, ca a tal le fiziera Dios; mas pues que dela fruyta de aquel aruol comiesse que se tornarie mortal; et esto diz que quieren dezir aquellas palabras que nuestro sennor Dios dixo a Adam, que si de la fruta de aquell aruol comiesse que muerte morrie, fascas que se tornarie mortal, lo que non era antes nin lo fuera despues si de aquella fruta non ouiesse comido. (I.5b7-19)[59]

In the biblical passages exposition is introduced if not actually to interpret, then to explain and expand, so that an uncultured reader may better understand. Alfonso, saying that he is following Comestor, details the sins of Cain: he was guilty of cobdiçia because he kept the best for himself instead of sacrificing it to God, of envidia towards Abel because God had accepted his sacrifice, of treason for he used deceitful methods to make Abel go for a walk with him, so that he could kill him, and also of homicide, lying, despair and a lack of repentance (I.10a21-b8). When Alfonso comes to the chapter describing the plagues sent by God as a punishment on the Egyptians because Pharaoh would not allow the Israelites to go, he expands the biblical material, using Josephus and Comestor. He describes the plague of frogs, where they were found, for example in the beds, food and drink: he also describes the three types of frog that were found there (I.336a22-53).

When we turn to the pagan parts of GE, we find that although the interpretations and expositions are in the same style as in the biblical passages, they are much more detailed and appear almost without exception at the end of every mythological passage.[60] To illustrate Alfonso's technique in interpretation I shall select just a few examples from some of the more popular myths which Alfonso used.

Alfonso uses the euhemeristic approach to interpretations to explain how the deities came into being. The origin of Pallas is described in detail. On the Palatine mountain there was a maiden called Pallas:

> e fue muy sabia en natura de llantar oliuas e criar las, e fazer ende azeyte, lo que non sopieran otros omnes antes, nin nunca lo fizieran fasta aquel tiempo. E era otrossi muy sabia e muy maestra enel triuio e enel quadriuio -, que son las siete artes liberales -, e sobre todo en el quadriuio, e en naturas, e en margomar, e en toda lauor de aguia sobre lino, e seda e sobre otro panno, e muy maestra en todo saber e en todo fecho de batalla.
>
> Et por quela ueyen sus gentiles sabia e conplida en todas estas cosas, mas que a otro uaron nin muger de su tiempo, llamaron la deessa de todas estas cosas, delas oliuas, e de los saberes, e delas naturas delas cosas, e de filanderia, e de batalla; e pusieron por ende nombre Palatino a aquel monte del nombre della, e fizieron le assi sus oraciones e sus sacrificios. (I.71b2-22)

It is not until he comes to the story of Cadmus, however, that Alfonso explains the thoughts on the birth of Pallas. The first belief that she arose from lake Triton is not explained; Alfonso simply says that Eusebius, Jerome and Lucas say that she arose from lake Triton and was therefore called Tritonia. Alfonso adds that the Greeks called her Minerva and that she was later known as Pallas. It must be noted that here Alfonso has digressed from his normal sources for interpretations and that these authors did not explain the birth. When we come to the second explanation that she was born from the brain of Jupiter when he moved his head sharply one day an explanation is given. Because she was so knowledgeable people said that she was born from her father's brain (I.186a24-b31). Jupiter's origins are explained in the same way as those of Pallas. He is described as a king; he was born and studied in Athens and knew and taught the seven liberal arts. He made new laws and brought men from the ways of a barbarous life

(I.193b34-45; 197a32-b38). The Libyans worshipped him and built an idol to him in the shape of a sheep; sacrifices were made to the sheep, its advice was sought and the sheep became sacred, and thus King Jupiter of Athens came to be worshipped as a god (I.241a3-28). Diana was described in the same way:

> E auien ellos estonçes por deesa del saber e de las naturas que venien en las cosas por la fuerça e por el poder de la Luna a vna duenna que dezian Diana, que era muy sabia de todo el fecho de la Luna. E llamauan la ellos por ende su deesa de la Luna, e avn deesa otrosi de castidat e de cosa por que biuie muy casta mente e era muy sabia. (II.ii.6b1-9)

Alfonso, however, is not consistent in applying this euhemeristic interpretation to the origins of all the deities of whom he speaks. The origins of Venus, Juno and Mars are not explained euhemeristically.

Apart from interpreting mythology euhemeristically, Alfonso also interprets the mythological tales from a didactic and moral point of view. Indeed London and Leslie go so far as to say that the chief purpose of retaining Ovidian tales in GE was didactic (148). Using Jerome and Eusebius for chronology, Alfonso says that he used the Metamorphoses for the details of the story of Jupiter, Callisto and Arcas.[61] However, Alfonso expands Ovid's 130 lines to nearly twelve pages (I.596a-607a). The main structure of the story is identical to that of Ovid, but Alfonso elaborates with chronological details, descriptions of other deeds of Jupiter, a detailed description of Callisto and the characteristics of Diana. The actual scene of rape and discovery of shame by Diana is faithful to the source. After this episode Alfonso again expands on Callisto's despair as a bear and the background of the relationship between Juno, Thetis and Oceanus and then introduces a passage on the stars. At the end he interprets the story according to Juan el Inglés and the Friar.[62] Alfonso says that the process of

virgin to non-virgin, to pregnancy, to the birth of a son needs no interpretation, for this is an actual occurrence which is happening all the time. The interpreters say that because Callisto was chaste she was said to be a follower of Diana. Alfonso agrees with this adding that he who leads a good life and lives according to God's law is a follower and vassal of God. The interpreters say that having been busy the virgin, tired, lies down to rest and then becomes an easy target for the devil; this, says Alfonso, is like the saying in the Bible that one should always be busy, so that when the devil comes you are too occupied to take any notice. Jupiter, knowing this, armed with magic arts took on the appearance of Diana and succeeded in deceiving and overcoming Callisto. The Friar says that Juno, being the most knowledgeable of people in childbirth, was said to be the goddess of childbirth and usually attended women before delivery but would not come to Callisto's aid. She came afterwards, as an enemy, bewitched Callisto and changed her from a beautiful damsel into an ugly, fat, hairy girl and thus gave her the appearance of a bear so that people said that she had been changed into a bear. The interpretation of the passage in which Arcas, while out hunting, confronts his mother, but is prevented from killing her by Jupiter, is that Arcas when he came of age took over the kingdom, and vowing revenge for the adultery of his mother sought her out on the mountain where she was living a sinful life full of filth like that of the bears. When, however, he found her, King Jupiter made a new law that a son should not kill his mother. That Jupiter turned mother and son to stars is interpreted by the explanation that he made them love each other and live a better life, just as the star in the sky is more beautiful than the bear on

the earth. These stars were called the greater and lesser bears with the lesser guarding the greater and this means that if one reforms one should be placed in the heavens. The nearness of the two constellations represents the love that Arcas and his mother had for each other; the lesser bear guarding the greater demonstrates the way in which Arcas guarded and honoured his mother. That Ovid says they were in Septentrion, the most rigorous and coldest part of the Universe, reveals, according to Juan el Inglés, that they lived sinless, pleasureless and very hard lives.

Alfonso sees in the story of Narcissus a thoroughly moral and didactic explanation. He expands Ovid's story (III.339-510) to twelve pages (II.i.161b-173a). He follows Ovid quite closely in Narcissus' birth and in the prophecy about his future, only changing his age from 16 to 21. In both we see Narcissus rejecting all advances of friendship. The story of Echo and Juno is included in both. The descriptions of Narcissus and the pool are the same, as is his speech to the trees. Alfonso follows Ovid's description of the wound on the breast being like an apple and uses the same image of the Styx. In Ovid no name is given to the flower. Thus the main structure and details are faithfully followed by Alfonso, but he expands by repetition of details of Juno's birth and Jupiter's amorous adventures and by including an interpretation. Juan el Inglés says that Narcissus is cupidity: everyone desires him, but he wishes to keep everything for himself, sharing nothing. What the covetous person seeks is merely transitory glory which like the flowers soon fades. Thus Narcissus is said to be changed into a flower, which is a warning to men not to be like Narcissus but to flee from

the vanities of this world. The Friar says that Narcissus is pride and that Echo is Goodness: she loves the proud, in order to extract the bad from him. He, nevertheless, despises her and continues to be vainglorious. He loves himself so much that he rejects all others; he turns in on himself and becomes despised like the flowers. Echo, therefore, leaves the vainglorious person and goes to live among the rocks and caves, that is to live with the good strong men. The rocks being hard are thought to retain the good principles of the Church and contain the faithful, religious men.

Alfonso supported the above type of interpretation by elaborate false etymologies, widely accepted in the Middle Ages. The name of Pentheus is said to come from the Greek pan meaning all, and theos, meaning god and thus his name means todo en dios (II.i.193a13-17). Hercules comes from the Greek her, for battle and ecleos, for glory and so his name means glorious in battle (II.ii.1b36-43). Centaur comes from the Latin aura, meaning cloud and gignere, to engender, for thus was born the race of the Centaurs, engendered in a cloud (II.ii.18a47-b9). Some names are self-explanatory: the son of Venus and Jupiter was a great lover and thus he was called Cupid meaning cupidity or love (I.205b20-23). Alfonso, in his desire to expound on every detail, can even at one point name a man after the Latin word for a fish. In II.ii.82a16-43, he acknowledges his Ovidian source (VII.388-90) , and then, following Ovid, he tells the story of the grandson of Cephisus who was turned into a fish, a sea-calf, by Apollo. The Latin has no name for the grandson but Alfonso uses the Latin for sea-calf, phocen, to give him a name, and by reversing the true case says that the fish was called Foca, after the grandson who was named Foca. Alfonso also explains obscure details, such as the three heads of

Geryon (II.ii.32b8-20). He says that Geryon was famous for having had three heads for he was the ruler of the three kingdoms of Galicia, Lusitania and Betica (the land of Guadalquivir and Andalusia).

Alfonso also gives the origins of countries and towns from a mythological view-point:

> Europa otrossi lieua este nombre de Europa, fija del rey Agenor e hermana de Cadmo... et puso por ende del nombre della a esta terçera parte del mundo, e dixol Europa como dizien a ella. (I.46a34-43)

Dardanus found a place on which to build a town:

> e catando que nombre le pornie, fallo con los ancianos e con los omnes buenos de su tierra e de su casa quela nombrasse aquella ora del su nombre, por remembrança de si e el fizo lo, e de Dardano llamaron la Dardania, e fue el el primero rey daquella tierra. (I.634b11-17)

Later Alfonso tells of its change of name:

> reyno Tros en Dardania. Et esta Dardania fue la çibdat de Troya, e ouo este nonbre fasta este tienpo; et el rey Tros tolliol aquel nonbre, e del soyo llamola Troya e a los cibdadanos della troyanos. (II.i.293a6-11)

Seven giants gave their names to mountains, for example:

> al primero gigant dixieron Alpiel, e el so mont es en India, e dizen le las Alpes de India... al quinto gigant llamaron Athlas, e el so mont es a parte de medio dia de parte de occident, et dizen le el mont Athlant... (II.i.38a30-b5)

Arcadia was first called Pelasgia. After it was conquered by Arcas, son of Jupiter and Callisto, it took his name and was called Arcadia, "en remenbrança de si e de los sus fechos e cosas nobles que fizo" (II.ii.294a1-3). In the reverse order the Hesperides took their name from the land in which they lived:

> las duennas esperiadas... ouieron todas tres comunal mente este nonbre esperiadas de la tierra Esperia do morauan en Africa. (II.ii.30a40-5)

Some mythological characters did not merely give their names to places but actually founded new centres of civilisation. Perhaps

the most famous of these was Cadmus, founder of Thebes, who was treated in great detail by Alfonso. The main foundation story is in II.i.59a12-69b26 but it is also mentioned in I.172b30-1, II.i.146a32-44, 318a8-13, 325b26 and 393a3-4. In II.ii.33a32-b4 we are told that Hercules founded Galicia and Seville.

Alfonso's treatment of the origins of some of the gods and of some of the mythological tales that he presents is different from his treatment of the foundation myths because for these he offers no explanation for the tale surrounding their origin and it does indeed seem that he accepts these myths, and the characters who give their names to the places, as having a historical basis.[63] This would seem to be upheld by the fact that Alfonso traces the line of modern Kings and thus of himself and his ancestors from Jupiter, the Kings of Troy and Alexander (I.200b39-201a14). Rico believes that this was to vindicate his claim to be Emperor and Rex Romanorum; he says that this was probably written before he renounced this claim in 1277, after protests from Gregory X.[64]

Like the writers of the mester de clerecía, Alfonso christianizes his pagan material mainly by his interpretations and he also brings in many medieval elements like these other writers. He does this to make the pagan material more comprehensible to his contemporary reader and of course indirectly these elements give the twentieth-century reader an insight into life in the thirteenth century. This medievalization is particularly evident in the descriptions of the surroundings in which the mythological characters move, which are completely anachronistic. As R. G. Keightley says, the gods as kings rule not over classical Greek city states but from tiny medieval courts; young men glory in medieval chivalry and wish to prove their valour.[65] The Centaurs,

we read, were "caualleros muy nobles de Tesalia" (II.i.387a39-40). This is later repeated in II.ii.18b21-2: "fueron los nobles de Tesalia; e dizen nobles por fiios dalgo". Hercules comes with "la otra caualleria de Greçia" (II.ii.14a34) to the kingdom of Diomedes. Having overcome him he "ençerrolo en sus fortalezas que auie muy grandes" (II.ii.14b5-6).[66] Jupiter's education reflects what was taught in the Middle Ages, and gives Alfonso scope to expatiate on the trivium and quadrivium (I.193b46-197a9). Jupiter made laws so well that during his reign:

> los omnes nin auien torres, nin castiellos, nin otras fortalezas ningunas, nin cauallerias, nin armas pora ferir nin pora deffender se, nin lo auien mester, ca ninguno non apremiaua all otro. (I.199a30-5)

All of these things would have interested the medieval mind. When Hercules visits the Hesperides Alfonso sees another opportunity to speak of medieval learning; Hercules was said to have learnt from them:

> el arte de las estrellas e de las otras artes del quadruuio... e otrosi de la retorica, que es el arte del fablar apuesta mente, e de las otras artes del triuio donde sabian ellas mucho. (II.ii.30b14-19)

Achilles was sent to Chiron:

> el sabio que lo ensennase a leer, e a sabiduria de armas, e todas otras buenas costunbres. (II.ii.127b9-11)

Amphytrion, the husband of Alcmene, was depicted as a real medieval cleric; he went:

> a aprender a los estudios de Atenas el saber de la filosofia. E auia este Anfitrion vn escudero, su priuado, que llamauan Geta. (II.ii.2b17-20)[67]

Details of witchcraft and sorcery which are found within the pagan story are accepted without question or interpretation by Alfonso;[68] this is probably because they were part of medieval life. When Alfonso comes to the description of Medea's witchcraft to

rejuvenate Aeson, father of Jason (II.ii.67a49-71b), and the rejuvenation of the amas of Libero Padre (II.ii.71b12-72a21), he seeks for an explanation but on finding none he is content to leave the matter unexplained:

> que los dientes de la serpiente mudados en caualleros armados, e Eson de viejo en mançebo, e el carnero en cordero, e el fuste seco en verde e fojudo, que çierta cosa es que todo esto podrie seer visto a semejar que era por encantamiento e por el arte de la magica; e esto que paresçiese asi a los omnes maguer que asi non fuese. (II.ii.71b49-72a7)

Juno, determined that Alcmene should die and not give birth to yet another of Jupiter's illegitimate children, "fizole vn encantamento con que la ligo que se non pudiese librar del parto e muriese dello" (II.ii.3b23-6). While the incredible metamorphosis of Galanthis, who broke this enchantment, is explained, the actual spell is not, despite the fact that a simple explanation for Alcmena's failure to deliver could have been found.

Alfonso tells how Thetis disguised Achilles as a girl and placed her son in the house of Lycomedes to protect him. The picture of the house as a convent and of Achilles being one of the nuns has a distinctly medieval ring as it did in the Alexandre, where the same image occurred (see above, p.42):

> E leuaba a Achilles vestido en guisa de donzella, e mas de orden que de otra manera.

He was placed in "aquel monesterio con sus fiias (of Lycomedes) e que morase con ellas" (II.ii.127b45-128a13). Keightley (p. 245) sees further medievalization in the way in which the Alfonsine compilers changed the sequence of events in Hercules' career. He is made to graduate from wild beasts and serpents, through mighty men and heroes, to kings and rulers, and in graduating his deeds according to a human scale of values the collaborators have

ignored the classical scheme by which Hercules progressed on a spiritual plane, from the commonplace and worldly, through the strange exotic, to the mysteries of the other world.[69]

In GE mythology is not used to enhance the work, to provide exemplary material, or figures of speech or generally to add classical culture to a medieval work, as the cuaderna vía writers had sometimes used it, but is presented in its own right. The Alfonsine compilers faithfully reproduce their source material, only elaborating the myths to some degree with Christian and medieval material, with explanatory notes and with an interpretation. Perhaps the best way to appreciate Alfonso's use of his sources thoroughly is to take a selection of myths and study them in detail. The results of this study would be valid for the treatment of all the sources, for on reading the work it is clear that Alfonso is, for the most part, consistent in his attitude to his source material.

I shall begin with the myth of Pandion (II.i.242b19-263b17). Alfonso begins the myth by setting Pandion chronologically into his universal history. The wars against Pandion are outlined and his two daughters Procne and Philomela introduced; we then hear that Procne was married to Tereus. Having said that he will describe the story in detail Alfonso confirms the chronological position of Pandion: "Andado el primer anno et el segundo de quando Aoth fuera juyz de Israhel", and then establishes his source: the sixth book of the Metamorphoses. The war against Pandion is next described in detail. Pandion, King of Athens, having heard of the youth and skill in arms of Tereus of Thrace, sends for his help. In the following chapter Alfonso reinforces his statement about his source and also about the skill of Tereus. There is then

a detailed description of the fighting and of the final battle in which Tereus and Pandion attacked from opposite sides and overcame the barbaros, who were caught in the middle. This war occupies four chapters and amplifies a mere four lines in Ovid:

> obstitit officio bellum, subvectaque ponto
> barbara Mopsopios terrebant agmina muros.
> Threicius Tereus haec auxiliaribus armis
> fuderat et clarum vincendo nomen habebat. (422-5)

In 244b35-246a26, Alfonso describes the rejoicing of the two Kings, the honours conferred on Tereus and the gifts exchanged. Having seen Procne and Philomela, Tereus thought about asking for the hand of one of them in marriage, but decided that he should first return home and discuss it with his men. Back in his court he is depicted as telling first of his victories, and then as broaching the subject of marriage. His courtiers replied that as Tereus knew better than them the situation of Pandion and his kingdom, the decision should be his. Tereus therefore sent letters to Pandion requesting the hand of one of his daughters. This passage is quite different from the concise three lines in Ovid speaking of the marriage:

> quem sibi Pandion opibusque virisque potentem
> et genus a magno ducentem forte Gradivo
> conubio Procnes iunxit. (426-8)

The abruptness of this marriage as seen in Ovid was probably unacceptable to a medieval mind and thus Alfonso decided to introduce the typical medieval chivalry and courtesy of a consultation with courtiers and also official requests in letters, to make the scene more acceptable to his reader. Alfonso continues by considering Pandion's thoughts on receiving this request. In a typically medieval fashion:

> Pandion uio cuemo era Thereo buen cauallero darmas, e poderoso de aueres e de yentes, e como uiniera en su ayuda, e comol fiziera su acorro muy bueno e a muy buen tienpo, de mas que casaua bien su fija, e dio gela. (245a36-41)

The Spanish tells of a splendid wedding feast. Alfonso takes the opportunity to give details of Pandion's descent from Jupiter, adding that Tereus was also descended from Jupiter, according to Ovid. Ovid in fact in line 427 says that Tereus came from Gradivus. After the description of the wedding feast Alfonso returns to his source and following it quite closely says that the marriage was ill-fated because neither Juno nor Hymen was present and the nuptial couch was prepared by the Furies, who brought ill-fate. Compare:

> non pronuba Iuno,
> non Hymenaeus adest, non illi Gratia lecto:
> Eumenides tenuere faces de funere raptas.
> Eumenides stravere torum, tectoque profanus
> incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit
> hac ave coniuncti Procne Tereusque, parentes
> hac ave sunt facti. (428-34)

and:

> en aquel casamiento nin fue Juno, nin Ymeneo, nin gracia de bien; et otrossi dixieron los gentiles Heumenides por rauias del infierno et buffo por mal aguero, et estas rauias cuenta Ouidio que yguaron el lecho a Thereo e a Promne en so casamiento, et que souo el buffo essa noche sobrel su palacio llamando e faziendo mal aguero; et con esta aue fueron ayuntados Thereo et Promne. (245b13-22)

The Spanish continues very closely to the Latin in telling of the rejoicing of the Thracians and the two days of festivals that they kept, one being the day of this wedding, the other being the day on which Itys was born. Alfonso does, however, expand the concise Latin, "usque adeo latet utilitas" (438), to: "Et non sabien nada del cabo que aurie aquel fecho, e desta guisa se asconde a muchos el pro en muchas cosas" (245b31-4).

Ovid has already said that a son, Itys, was born; he therefore sees no reason to repeat this, and leads straight into the next part of the story in which Procne asks that her sister may visit her.

Alfonso, on the other hand, repeats that Tereus and Procne went to Thrace, where Procne became pregnant and gave birth to a son, Itys. The passing of the years is given by Ovid in a poetic image: "Jam tempora Titan / quinque per autumnos repetiti duxerat anni" (438-9), which is translated into a basic statement in GE: "Eta cabo de cinco annos despues de su casamiento..." (245b38-9). Alfonso again makes the story more acceptable to a medieval mind by making Procne's request, one not just to see her sister as in Ovid but to see her father as well. Added to this, he greatly expands her wheedling ways towards Tereus. The Latin, "cum blandita viro" (440), is expanded to:

> un dia començó a falagar a su marido Thereo con sus palauras buenas e alegres e falagueras, e mostrar le muchos mas plazeres que non solie; et desquel touo bien aplazentado dixol... (246a1-5)

No doubt this is an attitude that would have appealed to a medieval mind. The short speech in Ovid:

> "si gratia" dixit
> "ulla mea est, vel me visendam mitte sorori,
> vel soror huc veniat: redituram tempore parvo
> promittes socero; magni mihi muneris instar
> germanam vidisse dabis". (440-4)

is expanded into two speeches in the Spanish. The first one emphasizes the time that has passed since Procne saw her father and sister; she begs either to go to see them or to have her sister brought to her. The second one flatters Tereus and implores him that if he loves her he will go to her father and bring Philomela to her, promising to return her shortly. For the climax of the speech the Latin is closely followed: "et si me das a ueer mi hermana, dar me as grant don e guarir me as toda" (246a21-3).

Alfonso tells of the preparations for Tereus' visit: the typical medieval amassing of gifts to take with him, the preparing

of the ships, the voyage and the entry into Piraeus. The Latin simply states:

> iubet ille carinas
> in freta deduci veloque et remige portus
> Cecropios intrat Piraeaque litora tangit. (444-6)

In a mere five lines Ovid tells of the exchange of greetings, the request of Procne and the entrance into Philomela's room. Alfonso, on the other hand, in 246a31-b42, amplifies the greetings and then puts Tereus' request into direct speech: he tells Pandion of the birth of his grandson and of how much Procne wishes to see him and her sister. As the journey is too long for a small child they have decided that instead of Procne and Itys making the journey, Tereus should come to ask that Philomela be allowed to visit her sister. He promises to return Philomela within a short time. Alfonso then returns to Ovid to describe Philomela's beauty and form, and the way in which, as soon as he saw her, Tereus fell in love with her with a burning passion. Ovid's words reveal true poetic beauty; Philomela appeared:

> divitor forma; quales audire solemus
> naidas et dryadas mediis incedere silvis,
> si modo des illis cultus similesque paratus.
> non secus exarsit conspecta virgine Tereus,
> quam si quis canis ignem supponat aristis
> aut frondem positasque cremet faenilibus herbas. (452-7)

This beauty is lost, however, in the Spanish when it is rendered into an indirect statement:

> et dize Ouidio que el rey Thereo quando la uio uenir tan fermosa e daquel contenent, que se enamoro della luego a la ora, et fue el amor tan grant que assi se encendio ende el rey Thereo cuemo se encienden del fuego las ariestas secas. (246b36-42)

In 247a-b, Alfonso explains that although Philomela was worthy of such a love, Tereus and those of Thrace were renowned for being quick to love. Alfonso intoduces here a medieval thought on the

influence of heredity and environment: "onde ayudaua a Thereo en este amor la maldat de la su sangre e la natura de la tierra dont era e biuie" (247a12-15), thus introducing some mitigating circumstances for Tereus.

Alfonso closely follows Ovid in describing the ways in which Tereus thought he might be able to conquer Philomela, in repeating Procne's request, but this time pleading for himself under her name, even with the addition of tears. Ovid's criticism of Tereus' action is reproduced faithfully in the Spanish:

> ipso sceleris molimine Tereus
> creditur esse pius laudemque a crimine sumit. (473-4)

> ¡O Dios, quanta es la ceguedat que en los sentidos de los omnes yaze que Thereo, en guisar aquella nemiga que querie, era creydo e tenido por piadoso, e dauan le del peccado alabança, non lo entendiendo! (247b14-19)

Still following Ovid closely, Alfonso describes the way in which Philomela tries to persuade her father to allow her to go. When Tereus sees Philomela with her arms around her father's neck he wishes he could exchange places with him. 248a-249a continues a close translation of the Latin, with Pandion's consent to the request, the subsequent feast and Tereus' lascivious thoughts as he slept. The Spanish, however, amplifies the departure scene, emphasizing Tereus' hurry by saying that he arose before dawn, awoke all his followers and prepared to leave early before Pandion could have time to change his mind. The actual departure, Pandion's injunction to Tereus that he should guard his daughter well, honour her and return her quickly, and the final farewells are the same in the Latin and Spanish.

Alfonso expands, "timuitque suae praesagia mentis" (510), to:

> E dize Ouidio en el sesto de su Libro Mayor que gelo dio el coraçon alli al rey Pandion, e que se ouo miedo del mal que oyredes quel acaescio despues, et que era aquello cuemo que gelo adeuinas la uoluntat. (248b27-32)

Having embarked, Tereus gloats over his prize. Alfonso, acknowledging his source, includes Ovid's poetic description of Philomela's position:

> barbarus et nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa,
> non aliter quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis
> deposuit nido leporem Iovis ales in alto;
> nulla fuga est capto, spectat sua praemia raptor.
> (515-18)

> cuemo el aguila quando tiene fijos en el nio, e caça la lieure, et lieua la, e pone la en el nido ante los fijos, e ella non es aun muerta, e ell aguila esta la remirando, e la lieure non uee guarida del mundo nin la a, assi diz que estaua catando Thereo a Philomena, et assi estaua Philomena alli en yuyzio como la lieure en el nio, non metiendo ella mientes dantes en tal fecho. (249a4-12)

In chapter CXXXVI, Alfonso greatly expands Ovid's, "cum rex Pandione natam / in stabula alta trahit, silvis obscura vetustis" (520-1). He describes the way in which Tereus and Philomela drop behind the rest of the company, then leave the road for the forest. They enter into "unas seluas adentro, que eran muy antiguas e muy pauorosas, e llenas de serpientes, e de uestias brauas, e de mucha mala uentura por que estauan yermas" (249a30-3), a popular description of the medieval perilous valley, also to be found in the Alexandre. The hut that they come to is described as a cow-shed. The plain statement of Ovid that Philomela, fearful and trembling, begged to know where her sister was, is changed into direct speech by Alfonso, thus very much lengthening the episode. There are many rhetorical questions, as to where they were, why they were in a place surrounded by wild animals and why they were alone, so giving Philomela a much more developed character than does Ovid. The crude way in which Ovid sums up the violation occurs in four lines; Philomela was asking where her sister was:

> rogantem
> includit fassusque nefas et virginem et unam
> vi superat frustra clamato saepe parente,
> saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia divis. (523-6)

This attitude would have been abhorrent to a medieval mind and therefore Alfonso introduces a speech by Tereus, in which he attempts to pacify and woo Philomela: he says that he has brought her to that place to speak to her, and to do with her as a man and woman should, and this she should also desire for afterwards she will be rewarded with anything that she should ask for. However, he gives her no time for reasoning and rapes her on the floor. Now the Spanish returns to its source to describe her screams for help to Pandion, Procne and the great gods. Ovid's picturesque comparison of Philomela to a trembling lamb is included in the Spanish: she is seen as a lamb, released, although wounded, from the claws of a wolf and not being able to believe that she is free; she is also compared to a dove which, having escaped from the eagle and being smeared with blood, still trembles with fear at the memory of the talons that caught it.

Alfonso closely follows Ovid in describing Philomela's return to her senses, and pulling out her hair:

> mox ubi mens rediit, passos laniata capillos,
> lugenti similis caesis plangore lacertis
> intendens palmas. (531-3)

> pves que entro Philomena en su acuerdo, echo las manos en su cabesça, e ronpio los orales que traye en ella, e echo los aculla, e messosse toda, e rascos e lloro mucho, e desi alço las manos al cielo. (250a23-7)

Following Ovid, Philomela rebukes Tereus for rejecting her pleas, for ignoring the demands of her broken-hearted father and the rites of marriage, and for taking her virginity. Now, she says, she has become a concubine and Tereus, a double husband. Alfonso only changes Ovid's "hostis mihi debita Procne" (538), to " Sobresto tu eres mio enemigo" (250a38). She continues that he should have killed her, before putting her soul "en pecado mortal" (250b6),

the first example of Christianization that we have met in this passage. It replaces the pagan words of Ovid: if he had killed her first, "vacuas habuissem criminis umbras" (541). Faithful to the Latin, Alfonso continues with Philomela's threat to tell all abroad, and if she is kept locked up then to tell the woods so that even the rocks pity her. Lines 549-62 of Ovid, recounting how Tereus cut out Philomela's tongue and violated her still further, are translated into Spanish.

In chapter CXXXVIII, to soften Tereus' crime somewhat, Alfonso digresses completely from the Latin and interpolates a whole chapter. Here we see Tereus taking Philomela to the cowherd's cottage. There he tells the occupants that he was taking Philomela to the queen, but that the journey and the sea crossing had caused Philomela to lose her tongue. Not wanting to take her to Procne in this condition he asks them to take care of her, offering to give them all they need in return for their silence on the matter. Taking pity on the girl they promise to take care of her. Tereus rides off and catches up the rest of his party. Shedding many tears he promises to tell them the worst thing that could ever have happened. In the following chapter Alfonso introduces a fictitious story of what happened to Philomela, of which there is no trace in Ovid. Straggling behind, he says, they found that they had wandered off the main path into the forest. Thinking that this path would eventually lead them back to the right path, they continued along it only to find that they were penetrating even deeper into the forest, which was full of wild beasts. They were wondering what to do when four lions attacked Tereus; he drew his sword and they retreated in fright but then they attacked Philomela. Despite the fact that he fought them, the

lions tore Philomela to pieces, leaving only shreds of her clothing. However, he says, he managed to wound one of the lions, and he shows his followers his sword stained with the blood of Philomela's tongue. Tereus adds that he is afraid that Procne will not believe this story and therefore begs them to tell her that Philomela died at sea, and that her body had to be thrown overboard. He promises them that in return for their trust, he will put their lands in order. All promise to guard the secret.

Returning to his source, Alfonso says that Tereus had the effrontery to return to Procne. He does, however, find himself obliged to amplify these three lines of Ovid:

> coniuge quae viso germanam quaerit, at ille
> dat gemitus fictos commentaque funera narrat,
> et lacrimae fecere fidem. (564-6)

Alfonso has invented two explanations for the death of Philomela, and therefore has to treat the episode much more fully than Ovid. The reader is reminded that all the companions of Tereus have been sworn to secrecy under pain of death, and then he hears how, weeping, Tereus tells Procne of the death of Philomela at sea and of the fact that she had to be thrown overboard. In both the Latin and the Spanish, on hearing this, Procne takes off her fine clothes, but her subsequent actions are Christianized by Alfonso. Ovid says:

> induiturque atras vestes et inane sepulcrum
> constituit falsisque piacula manibus infert
> et luget non sic lugendae fata sororis. (568-70)

Alfonso gives a description of a Christian action:

> uistios de pannos de duelo, e paro lecho por ella, e obro un luziello muy noble, et fizo muchos sacrificios e oraciones, e dio mucho por su alma, e lanxo e fizo duelo muy grand cuedando que era muerta, non sabiendo el mal fecho que y auie contescido poro uino todo el mal como oyredes adelant. (252b30-253a2)

Despite so much amplification, once again Alfonso loses the

poetic beauty of Ovid's image of the time "signa deus bis sex acto lustraverat anno" (571), by shortening it to the simple statement of "acabado un anno" (253a3). He then reverses this technique by amplifying the concise facts of Ovid:

> quid faciat Philomela? fugam custodia claudit,
> structa rigent solido stabulorum moenia saxo,
> os mutum facti caret indice. (572-4)

Alfonso's description is more homely: her tongue has healed although she can never speak again. She tried to escape, but was unable to, as Tereus had ordered her to be well guarded. According to Ovid the shepherd's hut was surrounded by a huge stone wall; these two facts were obviously unacceptable to Alfonso as they seem to be incompatible, but he excuses himself to his reader for presenting them, saying that they are the words of Ovid. Still following Ovid, he says that grief and misfortune encourage much cunning and wisdom.

Ovid is quite concise in telling of the story that Philomela wove:

> stamina barbarica suspendit callida tela
> purpureasque notas filis intexuit albis,
> indicium sceleris. (576-8)

Alfonso, however, appeals to his contemporary reader more, by depicting a domestic scene: Philomela, using sign language, asks her servant to go into the town to purchase cloth, silk and needles for her. He then goes on to summarize the salient points of the story and then speaks of the skill of Philomela in embroidery:

> lo margomo ella alli todo e lo inxirio con filos uermeios entre los braços, de guisa e tan sotil mientre, que de poco entendimiento serie quien toda la estoria non entendies muy bien por alli, ca estonces, de labrar de aguia, en el mundo non sabien duenna par a esta Philomela. (253b8-15)

The cloth is given to a messenger to be dispatched to the Queen: Alfonso changes Ovid's woman messenger into a man, presumably

because a man is better suited to the role that later Alfonso alone gives the messenger. Alfonso again tells his reader how Philomela was able to communicate by showing her using sign language to convey her message: Ovid must have thought this unnecessary. Alfonso amplifies his source again, when he describes the messenger's entry into the palace, the handing over of the cloth and the message that its contents are to be kept secret. Both Alfonso and Ovid say that the messenger did not know what the secret was.

Now comes the scene of revelation. Ovid simply states that Procne understood the truth, but Alfonso takes the opportunity to outline the story again. The grief of Procne, her inablility to utter a sound and her desire for revenge closely follow Ovid who is acknowledged here. Ovid does not tell us how Procne discovered the position of the shepherd's hut, but this was an omission too great to be overlooked by Alfonso for it would have made the story somewhat incredible, and as we have seen it is Alfonso's aim to explain everything. Alfonso therefore tells us that secretly Procne asked the messenger the whereabouts of the sender of the cloth. Having learned this she rewards him and tells him to tell the girl who sent it to be on the alert for soon someone would come for her. She then orders him to stay with a friend of hers until she is ready for him to take her to Philomela.

We then see a return to the source material and the celebrations in honour of Libero Padre - Alfonso uses this name in place of Ovid's Bacchus for it was more popular in the Middle Ages. According to Ovid, Alfonso says, there were three festivals to Bacchus each year and Alfonso describes each one in some detail, though this would of course have been unnecessary for a contemporary of Ovid. Nor does Ovid describe the festival that is taking place

in the story, he just says:

> (nox conscia sacris,
> nocte sonat Rhodope tinnitibus aeris acuti)
> nocte sua est egressa domo regina deique
> ritibus instruitur furialiaque accipit arma. (588-91)

Alfonso introduces much more detail and even draws a comparison between the journeys of the women and Christian pilgrimages: it was at night and there were candles and sacrifices; all the women wore strange clothes; all the nobility went out with their entourage to honour the festival, each to different mountains,

> assi como auemos aun agora en la nuestra cristiandat por costumbre que uan los omnes en sus romerias los que quieren a Sant Yague, los que quieren a Santa Maria de Rocamador, los que quieren a Santa Maria de Salas, e a Roma, et a Jherusalem e a otros lugares. (255a20-6)

One wonders, as Alfonso has drawn this parallel, whether he is really aware of the essentially sexual nature of the Bacchic orgies. It is under cover of this festival that Procne goes out to find her sister. She disguises herself by dressing in the clothes of those who would be going to the festival. Here Alfonso introduces medieval elements into his description: "et armaron se bien ella e sus duennas con armas de jongleria" (255a35-6), but the next piece follows Ovid:

> et puso se la reyna en la cabesça un sombrero de sarmientos uerdes con sus foias en razon de guirlanda, et al costado siniestro un pedaço de cuero de cieruo por adaraga, e al cuello una lança ligera, ca tal era la manera de los guarnimentos daquella fiesta. (255a36-b4)

> vite caput tegitur, lateri cervina sinistro
> vellera dependent, umero levis incubat hasta. (592-3)

Alfonso tells of Procne meeting her messenger who leads her and her companions through the forest. In Ovid, Procne is left to find her own way; to a medieval mind this would have been totally unacceptable. In both works she is driven on as though mad, because of her grief and rage. Alfonso omits the Ovidian comparison

of her condition to that of a Bacchic frenzy. He follows his source, though, to describe them arriving at the hut and breaking down the door, adding only that they used arms and stones, and to describe them seizing Philomela, dressing her as they were dressed, covering her face with ivy leaves and taking her to the palace. The arrival of the sisters at the palace, the disrobing, Philomela's shame, Procne's anger, and the vows of great revenge closely follow Ovid.

Alfonso continues to follow Ovid when he describes Itys entering the room and being slain by his mother. Alfonso acknowledges his source in a comparison, when Procne drags off Itys:

> assi, cuemo cuenta Ouidio, leuaual cuemo lieua la tigre el ceruatiello de leche por somo de las seluas del monte Ganie o a muchas tigres e muchos cieruos que comen dellos. (257a27-32)

The only noticeable change in this passage is that Alfonso tells his reader the age of Itys, five years, surely introduced to bring out the sympathy of the reader for the slaughter of such a young, innocent child and to emphasize the crime that had been committed.

Alfonso follows Ovid in the description of the slaughter and of the cooking:

> vivaque adhuc animaeque aliquid retinentia membra dilaniant. pars inde cavis exsultat aenis, pars veribus stridunt. (644-6)

> Biuos eran aun ya quanto los mienbros deste ninno e retenien alguna cosa del alma en si, e fizieron le pieças tal qual estaua. Et lo uno del coxieron, lo al assaron. (257b22-6)

But here Alfonso digresses considerably from the Latin. He omits the gory "manant penetralia tabo" (646) and evokes a homely image of the carnage cooking:

> e olie el palacio todo a ello cuemo suelen fazer las cozinas e lo fazen en los adobios de las otras carnes. (257b26-8)

The feast that is presented to Tereus is described in a mere three lines in the Latin:

> His adhibet coniunx ignarum Terea mensis
> et patrii moris sacrum mentita, quod uni
> fas sit adire viro, comites famulosque removit. (647-9)

Alfonso substantially amplifies this passage, possibly because he thought his reader would not understand the significance of the sacred feast and the reason that Tereus had to dine alone. Before he enters into these explanations, however, he warns the reader that Philomela and Procne have retained Itys' head: it is possible that he did this because he thought that the sudden appearance of it, as in his source, would be too gruesome for the medieval mind.[70] He tells of Procne going off to see the King and, in direct speech, she tells him that at this season it is customary for her ancestors to make a sacrifice to the gods and for the kings to eat alone, except for the queens who serve the meal but do not eat it. She continues that as Philomela is dead, "segunt me tu dizes" (258a14,- the truth is nearly out), and as Pandion is in Athens it will be a feast with just the two of them. The King, remembering his heinous deed, wishes to do all in his power to please the Queen and thus sends away his servants. The fact that a king should eat alone, while perhaps not strange to Ovid, would have been so to a thirteenth-century reader. Thus Alfonso finds all this explanation necessary. The throne of Tereus is described and also the table covered with the feast. We then see Procne entering with her frightful dish. Tereus asks Procne to join him in the feast as it is so delicious - a very homely and appealing statement that is absent in Ovid. She excuses herself, saying that this feast is only for kings to eat and in return for this sacrifice the gods will look after the kingdom well.

Alfonso returns to the source by acknowledging Ovid in the statement that in his blindness and stupidity, Tereus did not know of the evil that was present. The abrupt "Ityn huc accersite" (652), is expanded by Alfonso: he tells us that Tereus asked for Itys to be called to eat with him, for one day he would be king and therefore must be allowed to partake of this sacrifice. Alfonso then returns to the Latin, saying that Procne cannot hide her cruel joy at hearing this, and leaves for her room in order to prepare her dress for the climax of the scene. She says to the King; "dentro en el tu cuerpo tienes lo que aca fuera demandas" (259b5-6), which directly translates: " intus habes, quem poscis" (655). In Ovid the King has no suspicions of an evil deed, but in the Spanish he is wary and cautious, thus revealing the effect of a Christian conscience. He "catosse... a derredor cuemo con un espanto malo, et pregunto de cabo por el ninno" (259b7-9). At this point in the Latin, Philomela enters with streaming hair carrying the head of Itys, and covered with blood, "sicut erat sparsis furiali caede capillis" (657). The horrible effect of this scene is softened by Alfonso: the gory details of the blood are omitted and the scene is explained as though from second hand: Procne has told Philomela that when she hears Tereus ask for Itys she should bring in his head and this she does. Returning to Ovid, Alfonso repeats his words that never before in her life had Philomela had a greater longing to be able to speak and express her joy in the deed that has just been committed. Alfonso adds to his source by describing Tereus' sudden understanding that all is known and his subsequent cries. Then both works describe him overturning the tables and calling on the Furies. Alfonso does not literally translate, "vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle

sorores" (662), but says that he called:

> los hermanos del infierno, que son los malos espiritos dalla en tales fechos como este, e mayor mientre a estos tres a que llamaron los gentiles estos nombres en sus escriptos: Allecto, Thesiphone et Meiera. (259b36-260a2)

Alfonso then takes this opportunity to teach his reader about the Furies, thus detracting considerably from the climax of the story. He gives a detailed explanation for the names of these Furies and then says that all the evil words that have been written about these three were said by the King when he realized the terrible deed that had been committed; he sees them as personifying the maxim of to think evil, to do evil and to speak evil, all of which had been committed by the King. Alfonso explains that they were called rauias for they make man:

> andar cuemo a cosa que rauia; et infernales les dixieron otrossi por que abaxan al omne como fasta en los auismos de la tierra, que son los ynfiernos. (261a10-14)

According to his technique in the rest of the work, Alfonso analyses the names of Allecto, Tisiphone and Meiera and interprets them. Having ruined the terrible climax of his main story by this interpolation, he then returns to it.

The distress of Tereus at what has happened is considerably expanded in the Spanish.

> et modo, si posset, reserato pectore diras
> egerere inde dapes emersaque viscera gestit, (663-4)

becomes:

> Conturuiosse le a Thereo tod el alma pues que uio que a su fijo auie comido, e fizo como que enssandescies, e trauaiosse luego de camiar e echar del cuerpo todo quanto auie comido, et lloraua e sollaçaua que mas non podie, e messauasse, e daua punnos en su cabesça, e non sola mientre por la muerte del fijo cuemo por tod aquel mal auenimiento. (261a22-31)

Then in a typically medieval fashion, Alfonso expounds further on the regrets of Tereus at his deed and the fact that he will go down in history for this dishonourable deed. He sees the action

of his wife as being that of the devil. He considers that it would be better to try to conceal the whole thing than to have the two houses of Pandion and Tereus destroyed. There is no such repentence or consideration in Ovid, where he weeps and then immediately pursues the women. Alfonso emphasizes Tereus' grief still further:

> se trauaiaua el un hora de echar lo que comiera, la otra de tender se en tierra e bolcar se en el poluo la cabeça e todo lo al e empoluorentarse, la otra como ronpie sus uestidos, la otra cuemo se messaua e daua punnos en su cabesça e con la cabesça a las paredes. (261b26-32)

Alfonso tells of the women also grieving and all of them behind palace doors so well secured that they could only be opened if they were knocked down.

On seeing Philomela, however, Tereus finds his anger returning with the help of "el mal talent daquellas rauias infernales" (262a1-2); it is to be noted that the fault was not allowed to lie entirely with Tereus. Alfonso changes the Latin, "flet modo seque vocat bustum miserabile nati" (665), into direct speech, introducing the speech with a medieval epic epithet. Tereus says: "¡O mesquino yo e en fuerte punto nascido! Yo comi a mio fijo, e el mio cuerpo es mesquino luziello del" (262a2-5). Following the action in Ovid, Tereus draws his sword and pursues Philomela and Procne ready to kill them. Ovid immediately gives us the picture of them running away and then flying one to the woods, the other to the roof. Alfonso, on the other hand, finds this rather abrupt and depicts Tereus pursuing the women through the palace, stumbling, blinded by a heart affected by so much evil, falling, rising again but still being unable to catch them. Alfonso, unable to state it as a fact that the women were changed into birds says that according to pagan writers like Ovid, the gods had mercy on the

three protagonists, "ca maguer reyes eran e algunos bienes auien fechos" (262a28-9), and turned Tereus into a hoopoe, Procne into a swallow and Philomela into a nightingale. This description of the metamorphoses of these three is a traditional one but it does not derive directly from Ovid, for he names only the bird into which Tereus is turned:

> prominet inmodicum pro longa cuspide rostrum;
> nomen epops volucri, facies armata videtur. (673-4)

It is possible that these additional details of Alfonso derived from a French source, as he uses the French word for nightingale, rossinol as opposed to the Spanish ruiseñor. Alfonso then says that Ovid and others say that Pandion died before his old age and descended into the underworld. This translates the last two lines of Ovid on the subject:

> Hic dolor ante diem longaeque extrema senectae
> tempora Tartareas Pandiona misit ad umbras. (675-6)

Alfonso now studies the interpretation of the story. It is clear that he no longer has before him the manuscript of Ovid that he used for the story of Tereus, for he misnumbers the book of Ovid that he used as book I, whereas in the actual story it was correctly numbered as VI. Acknowledging his source as the Friar, he says that he interpreted the metamorphoses in three ways:

> las unas se esponen segunt allegoria... las otras segunt las costumbres dessas cosas de que son dichas las razones, las otras segunt la estoria. (262b16-20)

He says that until the metamorphoses the story of Pandion , Tereus, Procne and Philomela was historical fact. People said that Procne and Philomela were changed into birds simply because they fled so fast from Tereus it seemed as though they were flying. It was said that they were changed into the swallow and the nightingale, for these birds have red breasts, symbolic of the fact that they killed

Itys. It was believed that Philomela was turned into the nightingale because this is a bird which lives in the woods and undergrowth, and Philomela too was shut in a house in a wood. The belief that Procne became a swallow was because swallows live in or near houses and Procne too was a town dweller and lived in a palace. Tereus, too, was believed to have changed into a bird because of the speed with which he pursued the women; that this bird was a hoopoe was because the hoopoe flies very swiftly and it makes a nest of evil smelling objects, symbolising the evil that Tereus had committed.[71] Master John, adds Alfonso, also says that the story of these monarchs was true. He, on the other hand, believes the fact that they were supposed to have been changed into birds symbolises the idea that like a bird which flies, those who love can follow no direct path, but dart from place to place continually.[72]

It has become apparent that Alfonso has greatly expanded his source in order to make it fully comprehensible and acceptable to his medieval reader. Sometimes the expansion is simply to medievalize the story so that the reader can identify with the actions, as when Alfonso describes the ritual in the asking for the hand of Procne, the thoughts of Pandion about the advantages that the marriage of his daughter would bring to him, the description of the preparation for the voyage of Tereus, the greetings that the two Kings exchange, the farewell and the distress of Tereus when he learns that he has eaten his son, at the dishonour that he has brought on himself and his family which will go down in history. At other times the expansion is to elucidate the story. In Ovid, the absence of Philomela is not explained by Tereus to the servants, nor to his wife, except to say that Philomela is dead, but Alfonso thinks that some explanation is necessary, and thus invents two

stories, one for the servants and the other for his wife. Likewise, Ovid does not explain how Procne found the cowherd's cottage, but Alfonso describes in detail the way in which a messenger leads Procne to her sister. The Bacchanalian feast, occurring on the night that Procne goes to find Philomela, is described in detail by Alfonso, and other feasts to the same god are also mentioned, but for Ovid this was unnecessary as his reader would know all about the festivals to Bacchus. The feast created by Procne, we are told by Ovid, is a sacred feast after the ancestral fashion of the house of Tereus at which only a husband may be present, but Alfonso's reader would find this incomprehensible. He therefore elaborates greatly to explain this solitary feast. If he includes the name of a mythological character Alfonso pauses in the story to explain it as when the Furies were mentioned; unfortunately, however, this can be to the detriment of the development of the story. Expansion solely for descriptive purposes is much less frequent, although it does occur: the wars of Pandion are described in detail and the woods and wild animals encountered by Tereus and Philomela are described. There is a homely description of Philomela in the cottage conveying by sign language her need for silk, cloth and needles and despatching her servant to purchase these articles.

Omissions by Alfonso are rare but there are three examples. One is the Bacchic frenzy experienced by Procne on her way to see Philomela and the other two are metaphors of time. The first example may have been omitted because it would have been abhorrent to a medieval reader, but there is no real explanation for the metaphors of time, especially as he faithfully translates two other metaphors: when Philomela is compared to a hare dropped into an eagle's nest, and later to a dove that has escaped from an eagle.

Alfonso has, to some extent, altered the character of Tereus, making him a slightly more sympathetic character than does Ovid. He does this first by saying that Tereus' environment had much to do in influencing him to a passionate and violent disposition. He then shows us Tereus attempting to pacify, woo and persuade Philomela to his purpose, before violating her, promising her great rewards. After the deed we see him taking care that Philomela will be well looked after. Alfonso also reveals that he is anxious to please Procne, as he is feeling somewhat guilty for the crime he has committed. This guilt is also revealed when we see him being wary and suspicious when Procne suggests her extraordinary feast. After he realizes that he has eaten his son and that his crime is known he is shown to be distressed at the dishonour that he has brought on his household, and he regrets his deed. Nor is it by his own volition that he pursues the women but by the instigation of the Furies. None of these favourable characteristics appears in Ovid.

Alfonso has altered his source also by toning down the more horrific aspects of the story. The sudden attack on Philomela is preceded by a question and answer passage. Alfonso detracts from the sudden and horrific effect of the appearance of Itys' head on a platter by warning his reader that this will occur.

Christianization does occur in this story but not to any extent. Philomela, having been violated, says that her soul is in a state of mortal sin. Alfonso draws a parallel between Christian pilgrimages and the women proceeding to different parts for the Bacchic rites. Procne's deed in killing her son is said to be that of the Devil. Surprisingly, there is no further Christian moralizing.

Apart from the three omissions already mentioned, Alfonso has reproduced the whole Ovidian story, frequently acknowledging his source. The only noticeable changes of actual Ovidian material are the occasional change of direct speech to indirect and vice versa. Also Alfonso includes the names of the birds that the women were changed into. It is possible, however, that Alfonso was using a version of Ovid that did include the names particularly as this is a detail that has come down to us in many versions of the story.[73]

The interpretation of the story, according to the Friar and John of Garland, follows the usual Alfonsine technique when dealing with interpretations, as we have already seen. Although, therefore, the objectives of Alfonso and Ovid were different, GE being a historical, factual narrative and Ovid a work of artistic creation, as Ginzler says (p. 47), Alfonso does not alter his source to any great extent. He does, however, expand, elucidate and interpret it so that the medieval mind might understand and learn from it, and he does omit or alter anything that might be unacceptable to his reader.

Alfonso begins the story of Midas by saying that Ovid tells the story in book XI of the Metamorphoses. He follows Ovid in saying that Midas' workers brought to their master a man whom they suspected of committing evil deeds. Midas, however, recognizes him as Silenus, servant of Libero Padre. Alfonso says that Midas was related to Libero Padre, but Ovid just says that he worships him, and orders festivals to be performed for him. At this point Alfonso includes information of his own, pertaining to details elsewhere in his work. He says that Silenus is weak and has just left Libero Padre who was conquering India "commo lo auemos nos contado ante desto" (II.ii.50b42-3). When he hears that Libero Padre has

succeeded in winning the lands, Midas orders festivities to be prepared. According to Alfonso these lasted fifteen days and nights, but in Ovid it is ten. The following quotation,

> et iam stellarum sublime coegerat agmen
> Lucifer undecimus, Lydos cum laetus in agros
> rex venit et iuveni Silenum reddit alumno. (97-9)

is greatly expanded by Alfonso: while the festivities were on, he says, Libero Padre returned from India, very happy because of his conquests, for no one else, not even Semiramis, had accomplished as much as he. Midas went to Troy to meet Libero Padre. The latter is so pleased to see these two that he grants Midas any wish that he should make. In Ovid Midas immediately asks for his gift, but in the Spanish Alfonso takes the opportunity to expain Libero Padre's gifts:

> E era Libero Padre aquella sazon el mas poderoso prinçipe que los omnes sabian, e muy sabio en el arte magica e en los otros saberes.(51a18-21)

and also to moralize:

> E el rey Mida era cobdiçioso e auariento, e asmo que don pediria a aquel dios por que el ouiese todas las cosas del mundo que demandase. (51a21-5)

The direct speech of Ovid, "effice, quicquid / corpore contigero, fulvum vertatur in aurum" (102-3) is changed into indirect speech in the Spanish. The distress of Bacchus that he has to grant such a wish is in both.

Alfonso introduces doubt into the mind of Midas that is absent in the Latin, as to whether the wish would come true: "e non creyendo avn nin a si mismo que el fecho de aquel don non saldria verdadero" (51a35-7). Such a doubt is very realistic.

The details of Midas demonstrating his gift are, unusually for the Spanish, abbreviated by Alfonso. He translates:

> non alta fronde virentem
> ilice detraxit virgam: virga aurea facta est;
> tollit humo saxum: saxum quoque palluit auro. (108-10)

as:

> E tomo vn ramo deençima de vna enzina; e asy commo lo tanxo, asi paresçio todo de oro. E tomo de tierra vna piedra, e la piedra enamarelleçio luego e fizose oro. (51a39-43)

But the following detail is completely omitted by Alfonso: "contigit et glaebam: contactu glaeba potenti / massa fit" (111-12). Both the Spanish and the Latin, however, contain the details of the corn being turned into gold. Lines 113-19 of Ovid are placed later by Alfonso, who at this point tells of Midas' table laden with food, and the way in which his water turned to gold as he lifted it to drink. Ovid describes the meal, the turning to gold of the bread and the meat, the water and wine, but Ovid's seven-line description is summarized by Alfonso who merely says that the food, water and wine were turned to gold. The description of the apple, "demptum tenet arbore pomum: / Hesperidas donasse putes" (113-14), is transferred to the description of the feast in the Spanish, where it is incorrectly interpreted: the comparison that it seemed as though the Hesperides had given Midas the apple is changed to the fact that they actually had given it: "E dieronle vna mançana que le enbiauan las duennas esperiadas; e qual ora llego la mano a ella, fue luego fecha oro" (51b3-6). Later Alfonso translates "si postibus altis / admovit digitos, postes radiare videntur" (114-15), as "e otrosi si ponie la mano en la puerta, o en poste, o en pared, o en que quier que fuese" (51b9-11). Although the order is changed, therefore, Alfonso does include the majority of Ovid's description, omitting only the description of the clod of earth (111-12), the water in the stream (116-17) and the bread (121-2) turning to gold, and also omitting Ovid's details of the feast. It may be that Alfonso treated this passage so carelessly because he really felt that the details were too incredible to be taken seriously by a medieval reader.

In both Ovid and GE, Midas' former love for gold turns to hatred. Ovid further emphasizes that Midas can neither eat nor drink but Alfonso excludes this detail. The direct speech of Midas in the Latin: " 'da veniam, Lenaee pater! peccavimus' inquit / 'sed miserere, precor, speciosoque eripe damno!' " (132-3), is simply rendered by Alfonso as: " alço estonçes las manos e tendio las contra el çielo, e rogo a Libero Padre que le tolliese aquel don"(51b21-4). Alfonso, surprisingly, omits the repentance of Midas, perhaps because he saw him as an entirely sinful character, incapable of any kind of conscience. In Ovid, Bacchus forgave Midas and restored him to his original condition when he confessed his fault; he then sent him to the river to wash off the gold casing around his body. Alfonso alters this by saying that Midas is sent to the river to wash away the complete enchantment, not just the gold by which he was surrounded. Despite the different motivation, the description of the scene at the river is followed faithfully by Alfonso, although he changes the direct speech to indirect:

> "vade" ait "ad magnis vicinum Sardibus amnem
> perque iugum Lydum labentibus obvius undis
> carpe viam, donec venias ad fluminis ortus,
> spumigeroque tuum fonti, qua plurimus exit,
> subde caput corpusque simul, simul elue crimen." (137-41)

> E Libero Padre dixole asi: que fuese a la tierra de la gente a que dezian los grandes sardos; e era aquel lugar vezino de alli, e corrie por y vn rio. E mandole que luego que llegase a la ribera del, que fuese rio arriba contra donde vinie el agua fasta que llegase a la fuente donde nasçie este rio; e alli do el manadero echaua el mayor bullon de agua que se mojase y la cabeça e avn todo el cuerpo, e que se lauase y los cabellos, e que perderie el aquella fuerça del oro e pasaria la natura dello en la fuente (51b24-37)

As in Ovid the power of the golden touch went into the fountain. Alfonso summarizes Ovid's: "nunc quoque iam veteris percepto semine venae / arva rigent auro madidis pallentia glaebis" (144-5) by saying: "Onde dize Ouidio que a mucho oro en aquel rio" (51b40-1). In both

works Midas so hated riches after this episode that he no longer lived in the richness of the city but in the woods and fields worshipping Pan. Ovid, presuming that his reader will know all about Pan, does not describe him, but Alfonso adds, for the sake of his medieval reader, not so well educated in the classics : "E dezienle dios de las cabras, e fazian sus ymagines e sus ydolos" (51b48-50). Alfonso then returns to Ovid, saying that he told of Midas and the gift he requested, but adds that: "avn le fincauan enduridas las entrannas e el engenno grueso" (52a8-9), translating: "nam freta prospiciens late riget arduus alto" (150).

When we come to the contest between Pan and Apollo, Alfonso follows Ovid only in his description of the mountain Tmolus and its position: after this he differs substantially from his acknowledged source. In Ovid it happens by chance that Pan spoke slightingly of Apollo's music and for this reason Tmolus suggested a contest between the two musicians, Pan on his pipes and Phoebus on his lyre. Alfonso alters the motivation: Apollo suggested the competition, for the people of the surrounding districts had had sufficient of the boasting ways of Pan: he boasted that he could reason better than Apollo and that his knowledge was greater than that of Apollo, and therefore Apollo suggested the contest, taking as a judge an old man who lived on and owned the mountain, one Tmolus. He ruled that Apollo reasoned better than Pan; Midas was the only listener who disagreed about the result.[74] Apollo, naturally, is annoyed at the attitude of Midas and in the Spanish speaks thus to him: "Mejor entendimiento quiero que ayas tu, e que mejores las orejas por que oyas e aprendas e judgues mejor" (52a48-b2). This speech is not in Ovid. Ovid simply states that Apollo turned the dull ears of Midas to those of an ass. In the Latin the metamorphosis actually takes

place:

> nec Delius aures
> humanam stolidas patitur retinere figuram,
> sed trahit in spatium villisque albentibus inplet
> instabilesque imas facit et dat posse moveri:
> certera sunt hominis, partem damnatur in unam
> induiturque aures lente gradientis aselli. (174-9)

For Alfonso this belief is too incredible even to be recounted in the story and he explains it in more rational terms, to appeal more to his reader:

> E obrando Apollo del su saber, alli luego asi encanto la voluntad a el e los ojos a todos los otros que cuydasen que el rey Mida auie las orejas de asno, e que el mismo touiese que asi era. (52b2-6)

In both works the King attempts to hide his ears under a purple turban, but the servant who saw to his hair discovered the secret. Ovid does not find it necessary to tell the slave to keep the secret but Alfonso sees this as essential: this is probably a medieval elaboration reflecting court attitudes (compare p.81 above): "castigandolo toda via e amenazandolo que nunca dello le descubriese" (52b16-18). In both works the servant, unable to keep the secret, but not wanting to disgrace his master, went and dug a hole and whispered his master's secret into it; he then threw earth back into the hole. Now Alfonso follows Ovid quite closely, acknowledging his source:

> E cuenta aqui el Ouidio otra fazanna que despues desto a poco de tienpo que nasçiera en aquel foyo, que el escudero fiziera en que descubriera la poridad que le dixera su sennor, vn grand monte de cannaueras; e desque creçieron, e venie el viento abrego - que es alla desa parte - e las mouie, que fazian vn son que verdadera mente non semejaua al sinon que dezian: "Orejas de asno tiene el rey." (52b30-9)

Direct speech is inserted at the end, as occurred in the Pandion story, to give more emphasis and interest to the story; otherwise, the Latin is followed faithfully:

> creber harundinibus tremulis ibi surgere lucus
> coepit et, ut primum pleno maturuit anno,
> prodidit agricolam: leni nam motus ab austro
> obruta verba refert dominique coarguit aures. (190-3)

Next, Alfonso, true to his style, turns to his sources for the interpretation of these stories. The Friar says that Midas represents the avaricious man who wants to turn everything that he can lay his hands on into gold. The belief that he went to live in the forests and deserts reflects the fact that there he would find nothing to spend his money on and that this is symbolic of the avaricious man, that he is always trying to avoid spending money; he therefore keeps away from the good men and the cities for there he could not avoid spending money without appearing shameful. The belief that Libero Padre told Midas to bathe in the river to divest himself of the enchantment, and that afterwards the river ran with gold, simply means that it was there that Midas hid his treasure. Juan el Inglés says that Midas represents avarice: he loves gold and will not be parted from it: he neither eats nor gives his money away. Thus he is both rich and mean.

In chapter CDXLVI he interprets the contest between Pan and Apollo. Alfonso begins by explaining the origin of Pan: he is said to be the god of goats (this is because he knows and understands flocks) and that he reasons vainly, teaching nothing. About the reasoning of Apollo - the great philosopher of all knowledge - Alfonso says he represents the complete knowledge and understanding of man. His name derives from a, meaning without, and polleçione, meaning stain, that is, he is completely pure, another example of the false etymologies of the time. His reasoning was so perfect that no-one could question it, no-one, that is, except the stupid Midas, who believing instead the banalities of Pan, was said to have had his ears turned to those of an ass. This means that he was allied rather to stupidity than to pure knowledge. Apollo was said to have performed this task, because he was the great man of

reasoning. The Friar says that all the people from Ascra are unintelligent and mad. Juan el Inglés sees in this story the fact that the brains and knowledge of man are better than those of animals, "que tanto es mejor entender el omne la agudeza de la razon que non el sentido de la cosa" (53b33-5), and therefore that anyone who "cata el sentido de la cosa e non del agudeza de la razon" (53b36-7), is thought to be as stupid as an ass:

> e que esto se da a entender por las orejas del rey Mida, que judgaua entre Apollo e aquel satiro Pan segunt el sentido e non segunt el agudeza de la razon. (53b39-42)

The same general approach to the source appears in this passage as in that of the story of Pandion. The Ovidian story is retained almost completely - there are a few omissions in the passage describing the effects of Midas' wish but this may be because Alfonso really did find these details too incredible to be dwelt on for a long time. There is less expansion for descriptive purposes in this story than in that of Pandion but it does still occur: when the wars of Libero Padre are described and when we see his return and welcome by Midas. Alfonso does expand to elucidate: when Libero Padre offered Midas any wish he wanted Alfonso explains how he was able to do this. Later in the story he explains who Pan was, and the meaning of the name of Apollo. Alfonso found the metamorphosis of Midas' ears so incredible that he had to explain it rationally within the story and not leave it until the end. The final interpretation is in Alfonso's usual style and follows his usual sources. There are medieval aspects in this tale as in the servant-master relationship. The Christian element is introduced as when Alfonso moralizes on avarice after Midas has revealed his wish. But, as in the case of the Pandion story, there is much less moralizing than could have been found from the stories if the sole

purpose of Alfonso had been didactic. There is a degree of characterization of Midas in the Spanish when he is seen to wonder whether the enchantment will work or not - a very realistic trait, and one with which a medieval mind could identify. Taking into account that this passage is shorter than that of Pandion, there are more divergences from the source which, though acknowledged, is not mentioned as often. For example the festival in honour of Libero Padre lasted fifteen days in the Spanish and only ten in the Latin; the apple that Midas touched was actually said to have been given by the Hesperides in the Spanish, but only compared to one from these women in the Latin: the motivation of the contest between Pan and Apollo is changed by Alfonso as is the actual detail of the contest. In the Spanish the complete spell was washed off in the river, in the Latin Bacchus removed the spell, while only the casing surrounding Midas was washed off. We find, however, that Alfonso's attitude to his two sources is essentially the same. The slightly different slant given to the two stories and the larger percentage of divergences to be found in the treatment of the Midas story probably reveals that this passage was the work of a different compiler or that a manuscript of Ovid was used that differed substantially from the text regarded as authoritative today. This latter possibility, however, is unlikely as even the moralized Ovids that I consulted have closely resembled the text as found in modern editions.

I shall now study the treatment by Alfonso of one of the letters from Ovid's Heroides, that which Phyllis was said to have written to Demophoon.[75] Alfonso explains to his reader the source that he used:

> E enbiole su carta donde fizo Ouidio vna epistola que puso entre las otras que conpuso e ayunto en el libro a que dizen el Libro de las Duennas. E llamanle de otra guisa Ouidio de epistolas. E agora contar vos hemos aqui por nuestro lenguage de Castilla las razones de aquella epistola, segunt que las dixo Ouidio, desta guisa. (II.ii.224b27-35)

Alfonso translates quite faithfully lines 1-8, in which Phyllis bemoans the time since Demophoon has left her, describing the time in poetic language: the moon has waxed and waned four times since he left her. He also translates lines 9-24 accurately. When he comes to lines 27-34, the only insertion Alfonso makes is to explain that Hymen is "a quien nos llamamos nuestro dios de los casamientos" (225b12-13). In the same way he elucidates the mythological allusion that appears in lines 35-8. Phyllis says that Demophoon swore by his grandsire, who calms the waves, to return. Alfonso tells his reader that this person is "Neptuno, dios de los mares" (225b21). Alfonso also feels that the following passage needs expansion, in order that it should be fully understood by his medieval reader:

> per Venerem nimiumque mihi facientia tela -
> altera tela arcus, altera tela faces. (39-40)

is rendered:

> E jureste por donna Venus, a quien nos llamamos deesa de los amores, e por las sus armas e de su fiio Cupido- las vnas sus armas que son dardos, e otras sus armas que son fachas e nuzen a mi todas. (225b24-9)

The following lines of Ovid are also expanded in the Spanish:

> Iunonemque, toris quae praesidet alma maritis,
> et per taediferae mystica sacra deae. (41-2)

to become:

> E juresteme otrosi por donna Juno, a la que nos dezimos la santa deesa de los casados; e otrosi por las figuras de los santos sacrifiçios de la deesa que trae los casamientos que tenemos, que es Pallas. (225b29-33)

However Alfonso has not digressed far from his source for he ends

his paragraph:

> E si de tantos dioses quisiere cada vno vengar el perjuramiento de la su deydat, que tu perjureste tu por ty, non series asaz para abondar a las penas que por ello deuen ser fechas en ty. (225b34-8)

This faithfully renders:

> si de tot laesis sua numina quisque deorum
> vindicet, in poenas non satis unus eris. (43-4)

Lines 45-67 are faithfully reproduced in the Spanish. Line 68 sees the naming of Demophoon's ancestors; Alfonso thinks it necessary for him to name Demophoon's father, simply alluded to by Ovid as "pater", because his medieval reader would not be expected to know it. He tells us that it is Theseus, and then follows Ovid in listing his deeds. Ovid mentions Sciron, robber from the Scironian rocks who was slain by Theseus, but the name is incorrectly translated as "Chiron, el gigante." He follows Ovid in mentioning Procrustes and Sinis but expands the statement: "tauri mixtaque forma viri" (70), to "al minotauro, que auie el cuerpo de varon e de toro mezclado en vno, que fue fiio de toro e de la reyna Pasife, muger de Minos, rey de Creta" (226a44-7), for the benefit of his medieval reader. Again, when telling of Theseus' journey to the underworld Ovid can just mention its god, secure in the knowledge that his reader will know to whom he is referring, but Alfonso thinks it necessary to name him as Pluto. Likewise, when Phyllis, in both works, says that the only deed of Theseus to impress his son was when he abandoned his Cretan bride, Alfonso sees a need to elaborate on this to some degree: "desanparo el a Adriana en las riberas de la mar" (226b13-14).

Lines 69-90 are faithfully rendered by Alfonso with no expansion or change except to insert a Christian exclamation: "Pero si avn ploguiese a Dios que vinieses tu" (226b31-2). Lines 91-100 are the same in both works. Alfonso here even retains the

direct speech, which I have shown he sometimes eliminates. He does, however, add a little to the words of Demophoon as he leaves to make the fact that he does not return even more despicable. Ovid simply says; "Phylli, fac expectes Demophoonta tuum!"(98), while Alfonso says:

> "Fillis, fe que deues, faz asi que esperes tu al tu Demofon," diziendomelo por me fazer fiuza que de todo en todo vernies. (227a2-5)

Lines 100-14 are rendered as a translation. When Alfonso comes to the passage in which Phyllis rebukes Demophoon, for she has given him all her kingdom and her virginity, he glosses over the somewhat lurid description of Ovid as it would have been abhorrent to his medieval reader. Ovid says: "cui mea virginitas avibus libata sinistris / castaque fallaci zona recincta manu!"(115-16), whereas Alfonso says: "Estas tierras di yo a ty, a quien di la mi virginidat" (227a31-3). Ovid underlines the ill-fated nature of the union of these two persons, by having Tisiphone and Allecto present (117-20). Alfonso follows Ovid but omits the name of Tisiphone. Considering that he was clearly trying to elucidate his source this omission is surprising. It is possible that the source he was using did not include this name. Ovid says: "pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis,/ et cecinit maestum devia carmen avis" (117-18). It is possible too that he did not realize that this reference was to one of the Furies, for when he comes to translate: "adfuit Allecto brevibus torquata colubris, / suntque sepulcrali lumina mota face!" (119-20), he says:

> E alli vino, con sus culebras rebueltas, Allecto, que es vno de los tres espantos del infierno; e traye su lunbre de facha ençendida en la mano, mas era de color de muerto. (227a36-40)

One would have expected him also to say that Tisiphone was one of the Furies.

Alfonso renders lines 121-34 faithfully. When the point is reached at which Phyllis, having contemplated suicide, has now decided upon it, Ovid simply states that the suicide will now take place but Alfonso sees it necessary to soften the blow of suicide by dividing the decision with God: "E mande Dios que pues que tu non vienes a mi e me as desanparada, que me lieuen las ondas a mi" (227b28-31). Maybe the bare facts of suicide, unmitigated by the permission of God, would have been unacceptable to a medieval mind. The Latin summarizes in one line the fact that Demophoon's hardness must be softened on seeing Phyllis washed up on the shore: "duritia ferrum ut superes adamantaque teque" (137) but Alfonso expands this concise statement:

> E estonçes avn que venças de dureza al fierro e a la piedra ademante que vençe al fierro, e avn que venças de dureza a ti mismo, que venças a estas cosas e eres mas duro que ellas, auras ya alli a dezir: "Fillis, non deuieras tu a yr en pos mi nin seguir me desta guisa". (227b33-40)

The inscription on the tomb takes an interesting medieval turn. Alfonso says: "Demofon dio la muerte a Fillis, su amiga. E diole el la razon de la muerte, e ella la mano con que se mato" (228a10-13). This covers up the dishonourable deed that Phyllis herself committed in taking Demophoon into her house and loving him: here complete blame is thrown onto Demophoon. Ovid, on the other hand, is much more truthful in his inscription: "Phyllida Demophoon leto dedit hospes amantem; / ille necis causam praebuit, ipsa manum" (147-8).

This completes Ovid's letter, but Alfonso in his usual style explains Ovid's reason for writing this letter. He says that he wrote it as a warning to ladies of high lineage, and to others, not to be easily led by flattery and thus to avoid the evil that will inevitably come of it, as occured with Phyllis. He has also

written it to reveal that men, by deceit, make women believe them and do what they, the men, want them to do although it is not what the women should do. Those who deceive should receive just punishment. Thus Alfonso has a much clearer didactic purpose in reproducing this letter than he reveals in the other two stories I have studied.

Ovid's letter is, then, reproduced quite faithfully by Alfonso, who does not find it necessary to expand or elucidate very much. This is understandable, as the letter is the thoughts of only one woman, her feelings and reactions to her love and it should therefore be much more comprehensible for a person from any age than would be a story set in a completely unknown environment. Alfonso does, however, explain the origins of the gods mentioned and the allusions to various mythological characters that would have been obscure for a medieval mind. There is some medievalization, when Alfonso tones down the details of the seduction of Phyllis, which would have been abhorrent to a medieval reader, and when the dishonour of Phyllis is not disclosed on the inscription on her tomb: complete blame is thrown on Demophoon, which would be more acceptable to Alfonso's reader. This attitude is developed further, in the explanation that Alfonso gives for her letter; here a true didactic purpose is seen, in which women are warned away from the wiles of men and the entire blame lies with the man: this is a medieval concept, which does not appear in the Latin. There is some Christianization as when Phyllis utters a Christian exclamation, and when the decision to commit suicide is taken with God's guidance. Unlike the story of Midas, here there is only one divergence from the source, when Sciron is translated as Chiron; this was probably because, the two

names being so similar, Alfonso confused Sciron and Chiron: Sciron was a character very little used in the Middle Ages, whereas Chiron was often used.

Thus it is clear from these analyses that Alfonso has adopted a clear and consistent technique in treating his sources. These he reproduces faithfully. He expands and elucidates the sources when he feels that by doing so he can make the story more interesting, dramatic and acceptable to his medieval reader. He also expands his sources when he needs to explain to his relatively uncultured reader many of the classical allusions and origins of mythological figures. In making these additions, he inevitably also introduces medieval and some Christian elements into his work. He rarely alters his source material, although sometimes he may develop a character more fully or make him more sympathetic than did his source. He occasionally omits details that may have been unacceptable to his medieval reader. The principal divergence that Alfonso makes from his sources is when he interprets each pagan episode; in them he sees some didactic purpose and his interpretations are often from a moral and Christian viewpoint, though the Christian element is not always presented as forcibly as one might have expected. There are few mistranslations and even these could be accounted for by the fact that it is impossible to know the exact manuscript being used by Alfonso and his compilers.

The thirteenth-century writers that I have studied are united in their treatment of mythology in that they all add Christian and medieval elements to the pagan stories and they adopt a euhemeristic attitude towards mythology. There the similarity ends, however, probably because the aims of the clerecía poets, of Alfonso and of the Semeiança are different. The clerecía poets were reworking a

given source, some of which was fiction, so that it would bring enjoyment and pleasure to the reader. They deliberately excluded many of the pagan elements that were in their sources so that their works would take on a Christian, medieval air that would be acceptable to their reader. Although the end result of the clerecía works is didactic, mythology is not included for this end: what was retained from the sources was for exemplary, comparative and sometimes, though rarely, for descriptive purposes, to add an air of classical culture to the work. All this was well integrated into the work. The one exception to this is the Troy episode in the Alexandre. This is reproduced faithfully from the source and some mythological elements are retained; this episode is used more as GE uses pagan material; it is introduced as a yardstick by which to measure Alexander's achievements and as a warning that the great may fall though this is not explicit. This episode, like GE and Semeiança, is reproducing what was considered to be historical fact. Both the last two works are supposed to be factual and it can be said that Alfonso's treatment of mythology develops on a much larger scale the techniques that were used in the earlier work. Both works reproduce faithfully the sources that are used and although Alfonso elaborates, elucidates and interprets much more than the Semeiança in this work the beginnings of such a method of treating pagan material can be seen. The Semeiança shows the author's patriotic pride in the link between Hercules and Spain while Alfonso traces his descent from Jupiter. The Semeiança adds Christian details to balance its mythological explanations while Alfonso alternates long biblical and pagan passages. Rather than subtract source material both of these works add to it: the Semeiança makes a start at the technique of making pagan details

comprehensible to the medieval mind; it also reveals the beginnings of an attempt to interpret mythological tales in the vernacular. This attitude is crystallized in the work of Alfonso for his additions expand, elucidate and explain each small detail so that his work may be more acceptable and fully comprehensible to his medieval reader. He omits source material only when it is too unseemly for a medieval reader to tolerate. Christian didacticism and moralizing is prevalent in Alfonso's work and from his additions a picture of thirteenth-century life can be drawn. The clerecía poets began the original use of integrating mythological material into their work simply for decorative purposes and to add classical culture; however, it has to be left to the fifteenth-century poets to develop this technique fully, and to introduce a wide range of so far unexploited myths into their works in order to enhance their own original thoughts.

Notes to Chapter II

1. The cuaderna vía form is monorhymed Alexandrine quatrains with full rhyme which showed a large degree of regularity.

2. There were earlier vernacular prose works but of an inferior quality, for example: La fazienda de Ultramar, once attributed to the second quarter of the twelfth century but now accepted as being a thirteenth-century translation of a twelfth-century work; Anales toledanos primeros, finished 1219; Anales toledanos segundos, 1244-50; Liber regum in Navarro-Aragonese, c.1220; Semeiança del mundo, c.1222.

3. See George Cary, The Medieval Alexander (Cambridge,1956), and María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's review-article, "La leyenda de Alejandro en la Edad Media", RPh, XV (1961-2), 311-18; Agapito Rey and Antonio García Solalinde, Ensayo de una bibliografía de las leyendas troyanas en la literatura española (Indiana University Humanities Series, VI, Bloomington, 1942); Antonio García Solalinde, "Dos versiones españolas del Roman de Troie", RFE, III (1916), 121-65; Margaret R. Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature (New York and London, 1963).

4. El libro de Alexandre: texts of the Paris and the Madrid manuscripts, ed. Raymond S. Willis, Jr. (Elliott Monographs, XXXII, Princeton and Paris, 1934, repr. New York, 1965).

5. Alexandreis, ed. F. A. W. Müldener (Leipzig, 1863).

6. The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre, I: text of the Arsenal and Venice versions, ed. M. S. La Du (Elliott Monographs, XXXVI, Princeton and Paris, 1937).

7. Quotations from the Libro de Alexandre are, unless otherwise stated, taken from MS P in Willis' edition, and the stanza numbers are those of Willis' composite numbering.

8. The Relationship of the Spanish Libro de Alexandre to the Alexandreis of Gautier de Châtillon (Elliott Monographs, XXXI, Princeton and Paris, 1934, repr. New York, 1965), p.14.

9. Ian Michael, The Treatment of Classical Material in the Libro de Alexandre (Manchester, 1970), p.95.

10. See Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition: the Castilian mind in literature from El Cid to Calderón, II (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964),ch. VII; Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927); María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana (México and Buenos Aires, 1952).

11. They are named only in O. In P Atropos is "la fada que quebranta los filos de la vida" and Clotho and Lachesis are alluded to as "las otras dos mayores que ordenan los fados" (P, 1026-7).

12. See Chapter V for a detailed study of the Amazons.

13. See below, p.261.

14. E. Badian, Studies in Greek and Roman History (Oxford, 1964), pp. 198-9, says that Alexander actually began to believe in his own divinity and in mid-324/B.C. sent envoys to Greece to demand that he should be worshipped as a god -an interesting example of euhemerism in practice.

15. In the text the name is Archiles. However, this is probably a copyist's error, and the reference is clearly to Hercules.

16. Omero in O.

17. This is a typical medieval elaboration, of the type referred to as an inexpressibility topos by Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London, 1953), pp.159-62. This type of elaboration or poetic licence will become popular in the fifteenth century and even more so in the sixteenth, when the poetic beauty of classical writers is appreciated for its own sake.

18. Michael, Treatment, p. 291, says 1872-9 are original; he mentions other passages that are probably original to the poet. See Appendix I.

19. These last two examples are outdoing topoi - a fairly frequent use for classical references in medieval literature. Curtius, pp. 162-5, says that if a person or thing is to be eulogized one points out that he or it surpasses a certain person or thing and this kind of comparison is called 'but doing". On the basis of a comparison with famous examples provided by tradition, the superiority, even the uniqueness, of the person or thing to be praised is established.

20. O has Achilles but from the context of the hero's coming to Spain this must be a reference to Hercules.

21. The Debt of the Spanish Libro de Alexandre to the French Roman d'Alexandre (Elliott Monographs, XXXIII, Princeton and Paris, 1935, repr. New York, 1965), pp. 14-18.

22. References are to MS B in La Du's edition.

23. Motif-Index of Folk Literature (2nd ed., 6 vols, Copenhagen and Bloomington, 1955-8). Stith Thompson says in his introduction, pp.19-21, that the distinction between mythology and folk-motifs is often obscure.

24. Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades (American Geographical Society Research Series, XV, New York, 1925),pp. 148ff.

25. El pequeño mundo del hombre. Varia fortuna de una idea en las letras españolas (Madrid, 1970), p. 59.

26. "The Use of Figura in the Libro de Alexandre", Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, II (1972), 151-81, at pp.157-9.

27. This is better in its original position in the Alexandreis, before his conquests; it is rather meaningless when he has already accomplished them.

28. Juan de Mena's Laberinto de Fortuna, classic epic and mester de clerecía (Romance Monographs, V, University, Mississipi, 1973), pp. 116-17.

29. Italici Ilias Latina, ed. Aemilius Baehrens, in Poetae Latini minores, III (Lipsiae, 1881); references are to line numbers.

30. The Ilias Latina of the first century A.D. was superseded by the "eye-witness" accounts of Dictys and Dares in the second and third centuries as they were considered to have been more historically accurate; in their works the actions of the gods were, to a large extent, omitted.

31. The feelings between Patroclus and Achilles are, at best, ambiguous but the similarity still exists.

32. El libro de Apolonio, ed. C. Carroll Marden (Elliott Monographs, VI, 1917, repr. New York, 1965, and, XI-XII, 1922, repr. New York, 1976).

33. Historia Apollonii regis Tyri, ed. Alexander Riese (2nd ed; Lipsiae, 1893); quotes are from the AP text; references are to chapter, page and line numbers. Marden, in the introduction to his edition, suggests that some of the additional material in the Spanish derived from French versions of the Apollonius story. He says that the true source of the Spanish is probably a lost mixed text of the Latin HART. Joaquín Artiles, El "Libro de Apolonio", poema español del siglo XIII (Madrid, 1976), p. 17, agrees that the source is not the version published by Riese but another one that is lost. However, since the consensus is that HART, as published by Riese, is close to the text used by the Spanish poet, I take this as my basis for comparison.

34. See Apollonius of Tyre: two fifteenth-century Spanish prose romances. Hystoria de Apolonio and Confisyón del amante, ed. A. D. Deyermond (Exeter Hispanic texts, VI, Exeter, 1973), p. X. I use this edition for references to the Hystoria de Apolonio and Confisyón del amante.

35. The Ancient Romances: a literary-historical account of their origins (Sather Classical Lectures, XXXVII, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 295. Philip H. Goepp in "The Narrative Material of Apollonius of Tyre", ELH, V (1938), 150-72, examines the themes of the story to see whether it is literary invention or a traditional story in literary form. He concludes the latter.

36. "Motivos folklóricos y técnica estructural en el Libro de Apolonio", Filología, XIII (1968-9), 121-49.

37. Compare, HART, XLVIII,105.6-11 and LAp, 578-83. The singular deus is used throughout HART: XII,23.10; XIV,27.17; XXII, 41.19; XXIV,44.2-4; XXVIII,54.1; XXX,58.7; XXXI,61.3; XXXII,62.14; XXXIX,79.10; XL,84.4; XLII,91.6; the Angelus too is mentioned: XLVIII,108.1. The two fifteenth-century Spanish versions also use the singular dios, except for one case in Confisyón del amante: in CCCXXXIV after Apollonius thinks

his wife has died, "pidía a los dioses que le rreçuçitasen a su muger". See Artiles, pp. 131-8 for a study of the Christian elements in LAp. Artiles also demonstrates the way in which the poet made Apollonius into a Spanish nobleman, as did the poet of the Alexandre with his hero. He gives examples of many other medieval elements but none with reference to mythology, see pp. 47-52, 139-70.

38. These references to Neptune are excluded in the Hystoria de Apolonio but retained in Confisyón del amante. After Apollonius has set sail from Tarsus, storms arise and "Neptunus no quyso con ellos aver piadad" (CCCXXVIII). The second storm that brought him to Mytilene was such "que todavía le convino obedeçer a la ley de Neptunus, por la qual cosa muchas veses se querellava a Dios e enojávase dentro en sý mucho, asý por causa de lo que fortuna contra él avía fecho en lo pasado commo por el enojo e cuyta que padeçía" (CCCXLII). At Mytilene they were celebrating "alta fiesta de Neptunus con grandes sacrefiçios e muchos plaseres" (CCCXLII).

39. Fortuna is often mentioned in Confisyón del amante, sometimes for good, sometimes for bad. The medieval wheel of fortune is described here: "Fortuna syenpre es mudable y no puede estar queda, que una ves está alta e otra baxa, muchas veses derecha e otras acostada, e a las veses llena de plaser e otras llena de pesar e enojo, segunt por la estoria adelante claramente te será demostrado" (CCCXXVIII).

40. In both the fifteenth-century versions Apollonius' wife is taken to the temple of Diana at Ephesus; Hystoria de Apolonio includes a comparison of this lady to Diana (XXXII).

41. Semeiança del mundo, a medieval description of the world, ed. William E. Bull and Harry F. Williams (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, LI, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959). Two manuscripts are edited on facing pages. My references are to MS B and the chapter number.

42. Imago Mundi, ed. J. P. Migne, in Patrologia Latina, CLXXII (Paris,1854); Etymologiarum sive originum, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911, repr. 1966).

43. See Introduction pp.8-9,12.

44. This has been published by Menéndez Pidal under the title of Primera crónica general (2nd ed., 2 vols, Madrid, 1955).

45. See A. D. Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: the Middle Ages (London, 1971), pp.87-95.

46. "Josefo en la General estoria", in Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera (Oxford, 1959), pp. 163-81.

47. See A. G. Solalinde, "Fuentes de la General estoria de Alfonso el Sabio, III", RFE, XXIII (1936), 113-42.

48. See A. G. Solalinde, "Fuentes de la General estoria de Alfonso el Sabio, I", RFE, XXI (1934), 1-28.

49. See Lawrence B. Kiddle, "A Source of the General estoria: the French prose redaction of the Roman de Thèbes", HR, IV (1936), 264-71; "The Prose Thèbes and the General estoria, an illustration of the Alfonsine method of using source material", HR, VI (1938), 120-32.

50. See A. G. Solalinde, "El juicio de Paris en el Alexandre y en la General estoria", RFE, XV (1928), 1-51.

51. Solalinde first makes this point in RFE, I (1914), p. 105, and reinforces it in subsequent articles: RFE, VIII (1921), pp. 285-8; RFE, XV (1928), p. 4 note 4; GE, part I (Madrid, 1930), p. 15.

52. Études sur l'Ovide moralisé (Groningen, 1945), pp.3ff.

53. "Putative Heroides Codex AX as a Source of Alfonsine Literature", RPh, III (1949-50), 275-89.

54. "The Role of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the General estoria of Alfonso el Sabio" (Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), pp. 47-54.

55. "A Thirteenth-Century Spanish Version of Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe", MLR, L (1955), 147-55, at pp. 148-9.

56. Études, p. 21.

57. "Putative Heroides Codex AX", pp.287-8. For further information on the sources of GE see Daniel Eisenberg, "The General estoria: sources and source treatment", ZRPh, LXXXIX (1973), 206-27.

58. General estoria, I, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1930); II, ed. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten and Victor R. B. Oelschläger (2 vols, Madrid, 1957-61). References are to volume, page, column and line numbers. In passages where there is more than one reference to the same tale I give the volume number only for the first reference. The reference for this quotation is I.633b43-7 .

59. M. M. Lasley, discusses the creation story in "Secularization of the Creation Story in the General estoria", RHM, XXXIV (1968), 330-7. See below p.117,note 73.

60. Judson Boyce Allen, The Friar as Critic (Nashville, 1971), examines the link between interpretations of biblical and pagan material and the use made of it by the Friars of the fourteenth century. Examples are from English literature.

61. For comparisons with the Metamorphoses I use the edition from the Loeb Classical Library (2vols, London, 1916, repr. 1966). References are to book and line numbers. In a passage where a book is referred to more than once I insert the number only for the first reference.

62. See above pp58-9,for a discussion as to who these might be.

63. Compare the attitude of the Semeiança where the author continually refers to authorities to substantiate these myths as if he is doubting their veracity.

64. Alfonso el Sabio y la General estoria: tres lecciones (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 113-14. See also Introduction, above, pp.14-15, for further information on this wish to be associated with people of the past.

65. "Hercules in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish Literature before 1700" (Unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge, 1962), pp. 240-1.

66. Juan Fernández de Heredia, in his fourteenth-century Grant crónica de Espanya, made substantial use of GE for his information on Hercules. See below, chapter III.

67. See Rico, la General estoria, pp. 142-66 for a more detailed study of Alfonso's approach to learning.

68. The real obsession with witchcraft occurred in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but belief in it persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Nicholas G. Round, in "Five Magicians, or the Uses of Literacy", MLR, LXIV (1969), 793-805, says that Alvaro de Luna was accused of magical practices by his contemporaries as an explanation not for his failures but for his phenomenal success. Villena was a magical specialist (793-4); there was some talk of Santillana's interest in magic but this may have been hostile political propaganda. Probably, he concludes, anyone committed to letters could have been called an astrologer (805).

69. See Rico, la General estoria, pp. 67-120, for further examples of medievalization.

70. William W. Ryding, Structure in Medieval Narrative (The Hague, 1971), pp.105-6, tells of a medieval occurrence of this story: Sir Raimon of Rosillon, jealous of the love between his wife and Guillem de Cabestang, killed the knight and served his heart for his wife to eat. After she had enjoyed the meal, he had the knight's head brought in. The lady lost her sight and hearing, and vowing she would never eat again jumped from the balcony to her death to avoid the sword her husband had drawn against her.

71. This interpretation has traces of the bestiary texts. These are amplifications of the Physiologus, a Greek work which was translated into Latin with later additions from Isidore's Etymologiae. Bestiaries are largely fanciful, though occasionally accurate descriptions of animals, both real and legendary. The descriptions are interpreted in Christian terms. Bestiaries influenced Spanish literature but there is no evidence that a Spanish bestiary ever existed. There are obvious traces of the bestiary in the Alexandre: see Bly and Deyermond, "The Use of Figura in the Libro de Alexandre", pp. 171-6. See also T. H. White, The Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin bestiary of the twelfth century (London, 1954).

72. See below, pp.185-8, for Mena's treatment of this myth.

73. Lasley, in "Secularization of the Creation Story", reveals that Alfonso uses the same techniques for his treatment of the pagan material as for the biblical material. Authorities are sought for certain statements, there are interpolations revealing contemporary thoughts and elaboration on some points. He says that there is a loss of the dramatic technique and of the stylistic, poetic and aesthetic points. He shows that Alfonso was probably using the Biblia romanceada for some of his material. In the Genesis passage, however, there is a tendency to shorten the biblical material, whereas I have shown in the pagan passages there is much expansion. This could be because Alfonso would expect his medieval Christian reader to understand biblical material much more than pagan.

74. See below, pp.277-8, for a discussion on the change of the contest of music to one of rhetoric.

75. Heroides and Amores (The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1914, repr. 1963). References are to line numbers.

Chapter III

The Fourteenth Century: La grant crónica de Espanya and the Libro de Buen Amor

The fourteenth century saw a further expansion of prose literature. The educational reforms decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council were taking effect by the end of the thirteenth century so an increased number of people could enjoy the written word; this was aided by the widespread use of paper, thus making manuscripts more plentiful, and by the manufacture of spectacles; Alfonso's enthusiasm for the vernacular also encouraged the habit of reading.[1] Private readers, and small groups of educated listeners, could appreciate a more complex style and structure than the minstrels' large and heterogeneous audiences; this encouraged the production of more consciously literary prose works. Juan Manuel converted the exemplum collection from a preaching aid into a highly polished work, the Conde Lucanor. The prose romance, previously confined to a historical function (for example Estoria de Tebas in GE) now appears as an independent work. There is then in this century a combination of religious or historical objectives with a firm artistic consciousness. Many didactic works appeared in the fourteenth century, some in the tradition of prose hagiography. Also a number of chronicles appeared but many were either copies or abridged versions of earlier chronicles. A series of chronicles of individual reigns began where the Estoria de España broke off. This short treatment of a segment of history made it easier to draw conclusions and point to a moral. There were also in the fourteenth century some general histories that owe something to the Alfonsine tradition. There is a travel book, Libro del conoscimiento de todos los reinos e tierras e señoríos que

son por el mundo, which is said to have been composed by a Spanish Franciscan friar between 1350 and 1360. It is doubtful, however, whether he did travel as far as he said he did for there is no personal observation. Hispanic Arthurian romances appear in the fourteenth century and the first indigenous Spanish romance was composed around 1300. This was the Libro del cavallero Zifar, probably the work of Fernán Martínez, a Toledo priest. Probably only a few years later the Gran conquista de Ultramar was composed. This is a fictional chronicle of the Crusades. Versions of the Troy story, popular throughout the Middle Ages, again appear in the fourteenth century. There is a prose translation of the Roman de Troie, commissioned by Alfonso XI and composed in 1350, and also a prose version with inserted poems, known as the Historia troyana polimétrica. This might have been written as early as 1270 but perhaps as late as the fourteenth century. Then there is the Sumas de historia troyana by Leomarte which derives from Guido delle Colonne, GE and other sources. There are also versions of Guido in Castilian (the incomplete Crónica troyana), Aragonese and Catalan. In poetry, cuaderna vía verse, which had flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century, continued but in a reduced way, since some of its subject matter was now dealt with in prose works. The domination of the monastic schools of clerecía poets was broken and among the fourteenth-century poets are a rabbi and a lay politician. Perhaps because of the fourteenth-century upsurge in original writing, in a consciously literary style, authors did not use classical knowledge to enhance their works to any great extent; they were concentrating on a new literary style and did not feel the need to express their classical erudition. On the other hand, the influence of Italian humanism, whether directly or indirectly, had as yet

scarcely affected Spain. Mythology does of course appear in the Troy romances and also in chronicles that were based on earlier works, but in the consciously literary works it is not to the fore. I shall therefore look only briefly at two works of this century.

La grant crónica de Espanya

Juan Fernández de Heredia was born around 1310 and lived in close contact with the Aragonese Court: this Aragonese background can be seen in his vocabulary. He spent 28 years in France and wrote the Grant crónica de Espanya around the years 1379-86. Only books II and III deal with mythology: book II tells the story of Hercules and uses GE for most of its material. Book III deals with Ulysses after the fall of Troy; the proper names are corrupt and the text does not correspond with any of the known chronicles of Troy so much study still needs to be done on this book. Heredia, when he uses GE in part II, follows it faithfully; there are, of course, some additions and omissions and some confusions but the similarities are so great that there can be no doubt of the source. I give one example of the similarities between the works: it is selected at random, but any comparison between clearly similar passages will produce the same result:

> Atello dixo a Teseo: "Una cosa me has demandado de la qual me ha uenido grant tristeza en mi coraçon, por que no se nengun hombre que sea uençido por otro que uolenterosament quiera contar su uençimiento ni su desonrra. Pero pues que lo quieres saber, yo te lo contare todo por orden como me conteçio con Ercules. Mas empero no fue a mi tan grant la desonor en seyer yo uençido por Ercules como fue la honor a mi en tanto como me huui a combatir con tan grant hombre et tan fuert como el era. Yo creo que uos otros huyestes dezir de Deanira, fija del rey Eneo de Calidon et de la reyna Altea, la qual Deanira hauie fama de seyer la mas fermosa donzella que fues en Grecia, et demandauanla muchos reyes por muller.

> Et esdeuino que nos ayuntamos muchos la hora en casa del rey, su padre, et cada huno la demandaua por muller. Et Ercules, que es tan grant hombre, como tu sabes, uino alli por demandar la por muller. Et todos los otros reyes que eran alli por aquesta misma razon, quando uidieron que yo et Ercules la demandauamos, entendieron que ellos no podrien acabar lo que demandauan, et fueron se'nde todos exçeptado yo et Ercules, que fincamos alli. Et el luego escomençó a loar por su linatge et por los grandes fechos que el hauie fecho en el mundo como fazen a uegadas los que son enamorados. Et dixo como era fijo de Iupiter, et conto todos los grandes fechos que hauie fecho por mandamiento del rey Heuristes, a instançia de la reyna Iuno, su madrastra". (34.2-7)

> Diz Ateloo: "Teseo, preguntasteme agora grand tristeza al mi coraçon, e demandasme muy graue cosa que te cuente la contienda que ove con Ercules, ca non se yo qual es aquel vençido que quiera contar su batalla commo le conteçio. Pero, pues que la quieres oyr, quiero tela yo contar por orden commo avino entre mi e el; ca non es tamanna desonrra en seer vençido commo fue cosa apuesta en aver contendido con tal commo Ercules, e solaz es en seer el omne vençido de tan grand onbre commo aquel. E si oyste dezir de alguna muger que dezian Daynira, esta Daynira fue fiia del rey Oeneo de Calidon e de la reyna Altea, e era de las mas fermosas duennas del mundo. E demandauanla reyes para casar con ella, e andauan ay muchos por esta razon.
> E asi acaesçio que nos ayuntamos ay muchos a vn ora a casa de su padre a pedir gela. E Ercules, que es tan grand onbre commo tu vees, vino y estonçe a eso mismo. E pedila yo e pidiola el; e los otros, quando vieron que nos nos trabajauamos desto, partieronse dende, ca entendieron que non tenien y recabdo ante nos. E fincamos y Ercules e yo. E començose el luego a alabar de linage, commo fazen muchas vezes los que donnear quieren, e dixo commo era fiio de Jupiter; e contaua los grandes fechos que fiziera por mandado de la reyna Juno, su madrastra, que le querie mal e gelos fiziera fazer". (GE, II.ii.24b18-25a4)

The story of Hercules as found in GE, II.ii, is not the only source for Heredia's work, however; he uses other parts of GE, some version of the Troy romance, and possibly other sources which I shall consider at the appropriate points. Heredia medievalizes his work to a very great extent; some of this comes from the medieval sources that he was using but other points are possibly original. For example, in chapter 1 he compares Hercules to Alexander:

> Por saber Ercules, de que linage fue et saber su nascimiento, el qual fue en partida semblant del nascimiento de Alexandre el grant, rey de Macedonia, por que podamos scriuir los grandes fechos que fizo en el mundo en diuersos tiempos et en diuersas tierras, conuiene a nos que primerament tractemos de la uirtud et fortaleza que fue en el. (1.2-3)

This use of comparison was common in the Middle Ages but it is unusual to find a mythological person compared to a historical one. The traits that Heredia considers important in the character of Hercules are those which were most important to a medieval mind. The rest of the chapter is clearly from Alfonso so that this addition is probably original. Chapters 2 and 3 are not to be found in GE. Regina af Geijerstam says that they probably derive from the work of Paul the Deacon; they concern the children of Saturn, trickery by his wife, the overthrow of Saturn and the foundation of Italy.[3] On the other hand, there are other passages concerning Italy for which Heredia says the source is Aduardo d'Ascolo, whom af Geijerstam cannot identify (see below, pp.128-9). It is therefore not impossible that this passage comes from this unknown source. In chapter 4 the euhemeristic attitude popular in the Middle Ages is clearly exemplified. Not only does Jupiter appear as a man well versed in the Liberal Arts but he also appears as a medieval cleric:

> Esti Iupiter aprendio sçiençias et fue grant clerigo en las sçiençias que en aquel tiempo usauan, es a saber de las. VII. artes liberales et de astrologia et de encantamientos et de nigromancia. (4.3)

This detail does not appear in the main Hercules story in GE but in part I, Alfonso, having described in detail the quadrivium and the trivium and astrology, concludes by saying that Jupiter was knowledgeable in all these things (I.197a10-21). Heredia also inserts into this chapter a summary of the Oedipus story; this could, however, have been culled from any one of numerous sources:

> Et mato a su padre por accident et caso con su madre et huuo hi de dos fijos et dos fijas, et no conosçiendo la madre al fijo, ni el fijo a la madre. (4.10)

The following chapter telling of the descent of Jupiter to Alcmene, avoids any description of the descent of a god to a mortal. Both Alfonso and Heredia explain that Jupiter appeared to Alcmene, telling her that as Amphitryon had been away a long time he had obviously forgotten her or had been killed and that he, Jupiter, wanted to marry her. They both offer the alternative explanation that Jupiter assumed the appearance of Alcmene's husband and thus deceived her. This latter explanation would have been quite acceptable to the Middle Ages as the workings of witchcraft were a matter of common belief. In chapter 6 both Alfonso and Heredia describe Juno as a witch knowledgeable in the arts of magic:

> Juno era muyt sabia en sciencias et en otras muchas cosas et entremetiesse de encantamientos et de yerbas. (6.9)

> E era Juno muy sabidora de muchas cosas, et trabajauase de yerbas e de encantamientos. (GE, II.ii.3b17-19)

The next chapter sees another addition by Heredia to the GE material: the trick that Juno devised in order to find out which of the two boys was her husband's son. This was clearly inserted in order to explain to the medieval reader the episode of the serpents in Hercules' cradle. This same trick was described by Servius in his commentary on the Aeneid, but he says that it was used by Amphitryon to find out which was his son. There is no evidence that Heredia was using Servius, but it is possible that a corrupt version of Servius found its way into some medieval rendering of the Hercules story. In this same chapter Heredia follows the precedent he set in the first chapter of presenting Hercules as a medieval hero: here his education is described as that which a medieval child would have received. His teacher was Linus who was a :

> grant clerigo en sciencias, es a saber en las. VII. artes liberales et en natural philosofia et en moral et en astrologia et en nigromançia et en todas las sciencias otras que en aquel tiempo se husauan. (7.14)

Throughout the work Heredia emphasizes Hercules' bravery much more than Alfonso did. Here he says that he killed "el puerco de los montes de Arcadia a manos sin ningunas armas" (8.4).

An interpolated passage on the Babylonian idols in the next chapter, which af Geijerstam (p. 40) suggests may be from GE,I.77b-78a shows the euhemeristic attitude. Having explained about the worship of these idols Heredia says:

> Et aquel que era mas grant clerigo en aquellas malas sciencias, clamauanlo dios del infierno, et semblantment a la muller que salia mas sauia en aquellas sciencias la clamauan deessa. (9.12)

Af Geijerstam suggests that Jason's voyage to Colchis to fetch the Golden Fleece comes from GE,II.ii.59ff, but there is so much additional material and so many differences between the two versions that it seems to me unlikely that Heredia was using GE. It is clear that when he uses this work as his source he is very faithful to it. Heredia begins the story in the same way as Alfonso, telling of Pelias' jealousy of Jason, his fear that he may be overthrown by his nephew and the result that he was sending him on a mission in the hope that he would not return. Heredia then adds a derogatory statement on Pelias saying that he was common and had none of the virtues of a king, he was old and his sons were like their father: "no eran magnanimos, ni no mostrauan en si nengun senyal de uirtud" (15.5). But Jason is described as being all that a medieval nobleman should be:

> hombre magnanimo et uirtuoso et era franco et cortes et mesurado. Et era grant caçador et grant treballador et no curaua sino de grossas uiandas et husaua de todas cosas duras et aspras, e era mucho amado de las gentes de la tierra. (15.5-6)

The making of the boat and the gathering of people appear in GE, II.ii.59b12-60a7, but then Heredia adds that Jason encouraged his

men:

> que y fuessen de buen coraçon por que la obra por que ellos yuan meior se acabas. Et dixoles que aquella serie cosa mucho honorable et prouechosa a los regnos de Grecia et a ellos etlur nobleza. (15.17-18)

This exhortation is that of a medieval warrior. Heredia then refers the reader to the Argonautas for a list of the names of those who went with Jason (15.19).[4] Their arrival at the island of Laomedon and the unfriendly greeting they received could have come from GE, II.ii.60a, and the arrival at Colchis from II.ii.61a31-43. There, however, the similarity ends. In GE Jason promises to marry Medea if she helps him and there is no seduction scene, but in Heredia's version she makes him promise to marry her and never to part from her and to have no other woman; he then lies with her and makes her pregnant with two sons. Af Geijerstam says this episode (16.12-25) is from Le roman de Troie or Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (p.41). Unlike GE, Heredia tells only very briefly of the capture of the Golden Fleece; this would be surprising if he were using GE as his source, for this is of course the climax of the story. Heredia pays much more attention to the scene in which Jason asks for the hand of Medea in marriage surrounded by a medieval court. After the wedding they set sail and Jason leaves Medea on a deserted island; this is not in Alfonso. Chapter 18 continues this strange story of Medea, adding yet more details for which no source can be found. There is a description of how she gave birth to Jason's two sons on this island, and of her plans of revenge. Through enchantments she made Jason so ill that no-one could cure him. She then disguised herself as a doctor and with her two sons came to Jason, offering to cure him. He allows her to do this and then in joyous triumph at his recovery offers her a great reward. All she requests is a big feast to which all his relatives should be invited. She then kills her two sons

aged 3 or 4 , and serves them to the guests, giving Jason their hearts. At the end of the feast she enters with their heads and limbs in a bowl and expounds on Jason's treachery and thus explains her revenge. This story seems to have become confused with or substantially influenced by the Tereus-Philomena story, though how it is not possible to say. It may be that Heredia became so interested in the Medea story that to emphasize her use of witchcraft and cruelty he made up this story himself under the influence of the Tereus story. It is more likely, however, that he had some source for the whole of the Jason-Medea episode though it is impossible to say what this is. It is not in keeping with Heredia's general treatment of sources in this work that he should take just a few details from one source and substantially expand from another one; he seems to keep to one source for each episode treated.

Returning to the Hercules story, Heredia tells of the landing of Hercules and the Greeks in Troy. There we are told a mist came down, so that Laomedon did not know of their arrival. Priam, Heredia says, was away at war, but these details are not in GE. Af Geijerstam suggests that the Trojan material is from Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (p. 41), with some details from Ovid.

Not until chapter 27 does Heredia diverge again from his main source. Here he interpolates a description of the madness of Pyrrhus(Pirithous), and of his wanderings alone and then with Theseus who kept him company and protected him from dangers. Af Geijerstam has no suggestions to offer for a source for this episode. She does suggest that GE,II.i. 416b15ff is the source for Heredia's version of Theseus and the Minotaur, but there is so much additional material that it seems to me more likely that he had another source that gave him all the material that he used. Heredia does not say anything about the

seven men who were sent to the Minotaur in the ninth year. He says that only one man was sent and that he was chosen by lot. In the second year the lot fell to Theseus. Heredia does not mention the names of Minos' daughters and the details of the way in which Theseus managed to enter and escape from the labyrinth are absent in the fourteenth-century work. Heredia simply says that with the girls' help Theseus killed the Minotaur. Heredia introduces the story that Theseus forgot to take down the black flag from his mast upon reaching home and that because of this Aegeus thought his son had died and he therefore drowned himself. This detail appears in Plutarch's Lives. It is not impossible that Heredia used this work, as it is known that he had it translated from the Greek into Aragonese between 1379 and 1384. It was probably translated by the Dominican Nicholas, Titular Bishop of Drenopolis, though it has been suggested , because of the Catalan elements in the work, that Nicholas translated it into that language, and that Heredia and his collaborators later produced an Aragonese version.[5] Also found in Plutarch is the detail that the place where Aegeus drowned was called the Aegean sea. Heredia Christianizes this detail, which he cannot have derived from Alfonso: having said that the place where Aegeus drowned was called "Pielago de Egeo" he goes on:

> entroa el tiempo que los habitadores de la tierra fueron cristianos et los calogeros fazien sancta uida por aquellas yslas et corron pieron el uocable. Et como dizien "Pielago de Egeo", mudaron le nombre "Layo Pielago", que quiere dezir sancto pielago. (30.9-10)

The episode of Hercules with the Amazons is completely different from the main source. Af Geijerstam suggests the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César as the source. The encounter of Hercules with the Amazon Queens is medievalized. Melanippe and Hippolyte tell Theseus and Hercules that:

> no era obra de caualleros fuertes ni uirtuosos de fazer guerra fraudolosament e soptada, ni de matar las personas que no se dubdauan de guerra antes durmien dius sombra de seguredat de fe et de paz, mas puesque uenidos eran, que no matassen las gentes desarmadas, mas que ellas amas a dos hermanas se combatrien con ellos entramos, es a saber con Ercules et con Teseo. (31.11-12)

They fight but by midday the men are losing. Hercules rallies Theseus, saying that they must not be beaten by women and adding:

> ¿Et no sabes tu como naturalment se declina el sol desque passa el medio dia et que semblantment, assi como el sol se declina, passado el medio dia, que assi se declina la uirtud femenina en las fembras? (31.16)

Theseadditions give the impression of being from a medieval source. This detail has overtones of the attributes of Gawain in Mort Artu whose strength increased towards midday and then declined. The prototype for Gawain was probably a solar hero like Cuchulainn, and thus one can see here a slight reminiscence of Celtic mythology.[6]

The story of Deianira and Nessus follows the main source very closely. Towards the end, however, Heredia adds the homely comment that Deianira, having soaked Hercules' garment in Nessus' blood, "enboluiola en otro panyo por que no le ensuziasse sus uestiduras et metiosela en el seno" (35.31). I would suggest that this is original to Heredia as it is the only point at which he diverges from his main source.

Af Geijerstam suggests that the episode of Hercules and Busiris may be a resumé of GE,II.i.22-3 and 27-8, but admits that there is no solid base to support this (p.40). It seems to me that the beginning and end of the episode, that is chapters 36 and 39, could come from Alfonso but that the intervening chapters on Hercules' wanderings and the foundation stories probably come from a completely different source. The story of Talin, King of Corneto, af Geijerstam says, may have an Italian source as the material is Italian (p. 42). Indeed, a few chapters later there is more Italian material which

does not appear in Alfonso and for which Heredia says his source is Aduardo d'Ascolo, though this writer is unknown. It is possible that all the Italian material comes from this source. At the end of chapter 43, Heredia, having told of Hercules taking Cadiz, explains how he learned about the tides and moon (43.4-5). This replaces the GE detail in which Hercules erected a statue with its arm outstretched to sea which was supposed to prevent ships landing at Cadiz (II.ii.32a18-29). The following chapter tells of the knighting of Hercules' nephew. It is here that Heredia says his source is Aduardo d'Ascolo and I would suggest that he could have been using this same source for the detail that went immediately before. Heredia tells how Hercules built a temple to Jupiter at Calic where people made sacrifices. It was in that temple that Hercules created the first knight. This episode is a very impressive example of the medievalization of a mythological character. Heredia says that on the day before the ceremony:

> lo fizo banyar en el banyo et apres fizo lo lauar con agua ros et despues fizo lo uestir de camisa et de panyos blancos. (44.5)

The account of the foundation of many towns in Spain and Portugal in chapters 46 and 47 is not to be found in GE. Heredia says his source is Isidore.

The end of Hercules' life, chapters 53-9, probably does derive from GE, II.ii.39b-46b. The majority of the details coincide and it is unlikly that Heredia would have turned to another source for the very few points that are not the same. It is possible that Heredia put his own interpretation on the end of the story. The end of Deianira's letter differs in the two versions: in GE, 40b-44a she says goodbye to everyone as though she is going to commit suicide, but in Heredia she accuses Hercules of weakness because, having

conquered everything, he has now been conquered by "una simple fembra uilment et desondrada"(54.39) and at the end she says "No te quiero mas faular. ¡Guarda tu honor!" (54.40). Heredia expands Hercules' exhortation to Juno before throwing himself on the funeral pyre, emphasizing her cruelty and her power over him, and promising her that he will be avenged:

> Los dioses de los infiernos te sean crueles, assi como tu eres estada a mi, et sean uengadores de la mi muert (56.9), Et tu, traydora Juno, has muerto a mi sin lança et sin espada et sin guchiello et sin maça et sin dardo et sin sayetas et sin piedra. Los dioses de los infiernos et maten et te destruyan de todas lures armas assy como yo muero daquesta tan cruel muert. (56.11)

These are the only additions to the story and could well be original.

Heredia finishes this book with two chapters which probably come from Primera crónica general.[7] They deal with the story of Hispan and Pyrrhus, and they lead to a very important part of Spanish history, at least for the patriotic historian, to the point at which the Greek leadership in Spain died out and Spain emerged to rule herself.

It appears, therefore, that Heredia used the Hercules story of Alfonso very faithfully. He made some additions and some omissions and added a few of his own comments so that the result is not a translation but a reworking with some original material. The Hercules story is clothed in many medieval elements and euhemeristic details are evident; these are not, however, original to Heredia but derive from the earlier work. Heredia does add certain medieval elements that are not in Alfonso, for example the interpretation of the episode of the serpents in the cradle, Hercules in Troy, the fight with the Amazons, the knighting ceremony, Hercules' prayer to Juno and the foundation of certain towns. The exact sources for these details are not known, but they add to the medieval atmosphere of this fourteenth-century work. Probably none of the material in this book that

digresses from the Hercules story - Saturn and Italy, the Babylonian idols, Jason and Medea, Pyrrhus' madness, Theseus and the Minotaur, Pyrrhus and Hispan - comes from Heredia's main source, Alfonso. Suggestions for these episodes are tenuous and much more study is needed before any definite conclusions can be drawn.[8]

Libro de Buen Amor

There seems to have been two versions of the Libro de Buen Amor, the first finished in 1330, and an amplified version that was finished in 1343. It was written by Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita. It is a patchwork of different genres and styles, linked by the theme of love, displayed in all its facets. It is written in an irregular cuaderna vía interspersed with lyric poetry written in various metres. It is full of opposites: there are gozos to the Virgin Mary and serranillas, a didactic sermon and information on the ways to achieve sexual desires, there is satire and sincerity, apparent autobiography and fables. It is influenced by learned and popular sermons, exemplum collections, the Catechism, treatises on Confession, and the religious lyric. It also owes much to Ovid, the fabliaux, courtly love, medieval Latin secular drama, Goliardic poetry, and the popular lyric.[9] This work has inspired much study, criticism and discussion, but here I shall consider only the mythological aspect of the work.[10]

There is clearly much in this work that has been influenced by the works of Ovid. Juan Ruiz himself admits his source:

> Si leyeres Ovidio, el que fue mi criado, [11]
> en él fallarás fablas que l'ove yo mostrado,

and Venus says "Don Amor a Ovidio leyó en el escuela" (612a). Ars amatoria and, though less so, Remedia amoris and Amores provide much of Juan Ruiz's material on the art of love-making.[12] However, although

he does lean so heavily on Ovid Juan Ruiz omits all the mythological allusions from the passages of Ovid that he is using. For example Ars amatoria gives examples of the extremes to which passion has taken some women and recounts the criminal love of Byblis, Myrrha and Pasiphae and goes on to say that you should not make gifts in case you do not receive anything in return and continue to lose like the gambler, but that once having gained the lady's love it is yours.[13] Juan Ruiz says only that once the lady has lost her sense of shame, she will do anything her lover asks her and then gives the simile of the gambler (468-70). Ovid gives Menelaus as an example of one who slighted his love and lost her (Ars amatoria, II.359-61), but Juan Ruiz simply says do not neglect your lady for like a mill and an orchard she requires constant attention, and he gives the example of Pitas Payas (472-89). These are but two examples, but the treatment is the same throughout the work, where others might have used mythological examples Juan Ruiz uses fables and homely comparisons. He clearly wants his examples to be understood by his reader and to have significance for even the most uneducated of his readers. He does, however. use the story of Troy as an example of cobdiçia:

> Por cobdiçia feziste a Troya destroír,
> por la mançana escrita, que se non deviera escrevir,
> quando la dio a Venus Paris por le induzir
> que troxo a Elena, que cobdiçiava servir. (223)

References to this episode are to be found throughout Ovid's works but are also to be found in numerous other works well-known in the Middle Ages. It was, in fact, a story so well used that no particular source for such a brief reference could ever be established. This mythological example is balanced by a biblical one in the next stanza: the people of Egypt died because of their covetousness.

The episode of the procession of don Amor and don Carnal and the description of Amor's tent has precedents in both classical and medieval literature, the startling difference being that Juan Ruiz's descriptions contain no mythological allusions. This is because, as Lecoy says, this is not a triumphal procession but a parody of a liturgical procession:

> Le cortège que nous décrit Juan Ruiz n'est pas un cortège triomphal, c'est une parodie de procession liturgique, et probablement même de la procession la plus ancienne du rite chrétien, la procession des Rameaux. (261)[14]

They pass through a contemporary landscape and see people taken straight from the countryside.[15] Don Carnal's chariot is richly wrought but he is a contemporary lord:

> Venía don Carnal en carro muy preciado
> cobierto de pellejos e de cueros cercado;
> el buen emperador está arremangado,
> en saya, faldas en cinta, e sobrabién armado. (1216)

His belt was not made by Vulcan as in the case of Alexander but he had around him a white apron, covered with the blood of slaughtered animals, he wore a cloth cap and was surrounded by hunting dogs. Don Carnal and don Amor are greeted by the monastic orders and in the discussion among the priests and nuns as to who should give Amor shelter there is a scathing criticism of the Church. The description of Amor's tent does not have the mythological pictures that were, in the preceding century, described on the walls of the tent of Alexander but here is a representation in fourteenth-century clothes and scenery of the four seasons of the year and the months.[16]

The LBA has, as one of its protagonists, Venus but she is not the mythological goddess of love but an allegorical figure representing carnal love:

> Ella es nuestra vida e ella es nuestra muerte;
> enflaquece e mata al rezio e al fuerte;
> por todo el mundo tiene grand poder e suerte;
> todo por su consejo se fará ado apuerte. (584)

Nowhere does she appear in a mythological guise as a goddess nor is she the wife of a god but of don Amor (585a). She appears simply to give advice on love and as a source of help for those frustrated in love. There has been much discussion on the sincerity of Juan Ruiz's moralizing and of his faith in God; in fact the widespread belief that he was a priest has even been doubted by M. Criado de Val and L. G. Moffatt.[17] However, Juan Ruiz does not appeal to mythological deities for help in his work nor does he ever worship Venus as a goddess; the Christian God comes over as a source of truth and as controller of the world. He even begins his work with a prayer to God and reveals a desire to have God assist him:

> Aún tú, que dixiste a los tus servidores
> que con ellos serías ante reys dezidores,
> e les dirías palabras que fablassen mejores:
> Señor, tu sey comigo, guárdame de traidores. (7)

The sincerity of Juan Ruiz's professed didactic intent has been discussed at length by many critics,[18] but what is interesting in the context of this thesis is that he adopts the same attitude towards secular love as medieval and early Christian writers did towards the pagan works and especially to Ovid. His excuse for treating love in such an ambiguous way is to say that beneath the crude exterior there lies a golden truth; this he states in the introduction to his poem and more succinctly:

> Non cuidedes que es libro de necio devaneo,
> nin tengades por chufa algo que en él leo,
> ca, segund buen dinero yaze en vil correo,
> assí en feo libro yaze saber non feo. (16)

The discovery of a moral meaning hidden beneath a sometimes lascivious exterior was the way in which much mythological material was able to reach the reading public of the Middle Ages.

Like the earlier writers, Juan Ruiz does not follow his source material exactly: he introduces much medieval material and Christian teaching, and also the idea of <u>corteza</u> and <u>meollo</u>. However, unlike

his predecessors, he excludes mythological material almost entirely. Even Venus is simply a convenient name for a medieval representation of the allegorical figure of love. Why should this be so? Juan Ruiz does say that his work is autobiographical and as will be seen in my study of the sentimental romance this approach does not easily lend itself to constant mythological references - it would detract from the inner thoughts that one should find in such works. The constant references to homely examples and well-loved tales and fables which people may well have known from sermons enables him to create a work that would appeal to, and be readily understood by, everyone; this could also be an argument for the idea that the poem, or at least parts of it, were intended to be read aloud. In his ironical and ambiguous presentation of the question of love, Juan Ruiz may have been parodying the style of the writers of the moralized Ovids, but what is clear is his parody and cutting criticism of the ecclesiastical life of the time. Juan Ruiz had, in writing this poem, a message for all involved in love of any kind and to this end his message could not be clouded by mythological allusions which might not have been readily understood by the very wide audience to whom he was clearly directing his work.

The works of the fourteenth century, therefore, look both back to the literature of the thirteenth century and forward to that of the fifteenth. On the one hand, the fourteenth-century writers having adopted a certain subject, use various sources, adding, subtracting, medievalizing and Christianizing but on the whole clearly following the pattern of source material; on the other hand there is now also the creation of a consciously literary style, much freer from the influence of a definite source; the writer can now introduce his

own ideas, comments and criticism. This freedom leads to a rejection of the conventional mythological allusions and creates a work of personal and original ideas, much in contact with the life of the times.

Notes to Chapter III

1. See Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: the Middle Ages (London, 1971), pp. 136-7.

2. La grant crónica de Espanya libros I-II, ed. Regina af Geijerstam (Upsala, 1964). References are to book II, the chapter and paragraph numbers.

3. See af Geijerstam's introduction to her edition, p. 41.

4. It is possible that he was referring to GE as the Argonautas for it contained a list of the Argonauts, but given that there are so many divergences between Alfonso's and Heredia's versions I would suggest that some other version of the Argonaut story was being used. But what was this? The versions by Apollodorus and Apollonius Rhodius do not contain the relevant details for the Medea episode, nor does Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica, c. A.D.80, which drew on Apollonius Rhodius and was influenced by Virgil and Ovid.

5. See af Geijerstam, pp. 20-2, and Anthony Luttrell, "Greek Histories Translated and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Master of Rhodes, 1377-1396", Speculum, XXXV (1960), 401-7. Luttrell says that Nicholas was probably a Catalan or Aragonese; he had acted as an interpreter for the Byzantine Emperor John V Paleologus on his visit to Rome in 1369, and in 1384 was Vicar of the Archbishop of Rhodes (p.402).

6. See Roger Sherman Loomis, The Development of Arthurian Romance (London, 1963), p.111.

7. See af Geijerstam, p.40.

8. R. G. Keightley, "Hercules in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish Literature before 1700" (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Cambridge, 1962), gives some attention to Heredia's version of Hercules, but his consideration of the sources has been superseded by that of af Geijerstam.

9. See Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain, p. 109.

10. For a thorough, though not complete, survey of studies on the LBA see Deyermond's prologue to the 2nd edition of Félix Lecoy's work, Recherches sur le Libro de Buen Amor de Juan Ruiz, Archiprêtre de Hita (Farnborough, 1974).

11. Quotations are from Raymond S. Willis' edition of the Libro de Buen Amor (Princeton, 1972), and references to the stanza numbers, here, 429ab.

12. See Lecoy, pp. 289-306, and Schevill, Ovid and the Renascence in Spain (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, IV, Berkeley, 1913), pp. 28-54 for a detailed study of the influence of Ovid.

13. The Art of Love and Other Poems (The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1929, repr. 1947); references are to the book and line numbers, here, I.283-450.

14. Kemlin M. Lawrence suggests that it is in fact an Easter Sunday procession: "The Battle between Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma in the Light of Medieval Tradition", in Libro de Buen Amor Studies, ed. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny (London, 1970), p. 172.

15. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Two Spanish Masterpieces: the Book of Good Love and the Celestina (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XLIX, Urbana, 1961), says that the poem abounds in brief graphic descriptions of Spanish towns and people, and that it is rich in images. She says that Spain is traversed and the cities and rough sierras, the fields and the tillers are pictured with rare detail and attention (p.7).

16. It has been in dispute whether or not Juan Ruiz was using the Alexandre for this episode. Lecoy (p. 282) and Manuel Criado de Val, Teoría de Castilla la nueva (Madrid, 1960), pp. 224-39, do not think that the thirteenth-century work is the source. However, Nicolás Emilio Álvarez, "El recibimiento y la tienda de Don Amor en el Libro de Buen Amor a la luz del Libro de Alexandre", BHS, LIII (1976), 1-14, sees so many parallels that the connection between the two would seem to be proved. He concludes that Juan Ruiz does not take the episode literally but that he uses it to further the parody in his work (p. 13).

17. Criado de Val, pp. 158-9; Lucius G. Moffatt, "The Evidence of Early Mentions of the Archpriest of Hita or of his Work", MLN, LXXV (1960), 33-43. However, it is evident that he had studied the trivium, and was acquainted with pulpit oratory: see Janet A. Chapman, "Juan Ruiz's 'Learned Sermon' ", in Libro de Buen Amor Studies, pp.29-51.

18. For example, see Lecoy, pp. 360-4, and Anthony N. Zahareas, The Art of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (Madrid, 1965), pp.21-8.

Chapter IV

The Fifteenth Century: Marqués de Santillana, Juan de Mena, Embajada a Tamorlán, Diego de San Pedro, Juan de Flores, Baladro del sabio Merlín and La Celestina

The first half of the fifteenth century, despite its political upheavals, experienced progress in the cultural field. During the reign of Juan II (1406-54) intellectual, artistic and cultural contacts with France and Italy were dominant and many Castilians studied in the universities of France and Italy. The Italian influence brought a development in allegory and a revival of interest in classical mythology for its own sake and the discovery of some Latin and Greek writers neglected in earlier centuries. The court of Juan II encouraged humanism, foreign influences and letters, especially poetry.[1] It was during his reign that the Cancionero de Baena (1445) was compiled, bringing together the Galician-Portuguese type of courtly-love poetry and imitations of Italian poetry. It was in this intellectual atmosphere that Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458), spent much of his time. Early on he was influenced by Enrique de Villena and Francisco Imperial; he had friendly literary relations with Juan de Mena, although they disagreed on the policies of Alvaro de Luna, with Alfonso de Baena, Pedro Constable of Portugal, Ausiàs March, and Jordi de Sant Jordi among others. Santillana possessed a rich library and the contents of this, studied in detail by Mario Schiff,[2] help to throw light on the possible sources of the poet's knowledge of mythology. It is generally accepted that Santillana did not understand Greek and that his knowledge of Latin was inadequate;[3] he did indeed have a large number of translations of classical works in his library and some of these were made at his own request. I have already listed

the classical and early Christian works that Santillana possessed (see above, pp.10-11), but he also possessed medieval works from which he could have culled much of his mythological knowledge. He had the works of the great Italian writers, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. He had an Aragonese version of the Historia Troyana of Guido delle Colonne and the Latin Historia de Preliis and also versions of the story of Thebes. He knew the great medieval chronicles, especially the General estoria.[4] This is, as has been shown, a reworking of many of the works that Santillana is thought to have used. Lida de Malkiel suggests that as Santillana did not know Latin this work was probably the source of much of the material that he is thought to have culled from classical literature. She says:

> Como las fábulas antiguas no están traducidas ni reelaboradas en sus obras, sino aludidas en símiles ("Qual la fija de Thoante...") o catalogadas en secas retahilas ("Vi a Dido e Penelope, / Andromaca e Polixena, / vi a Felix de Rodope..."), no es fácil averiguar su procedencia y, sin duda, en los más de los casos, le habrían llegado por vías diversas: a buen seguro, no le faltaría un familiar docto para transmitirle las migajas de Virgilio, Ovidio, Lucano y Boccaccio que rellenan sus versos, y a la par consultaría los mitos romanceados en la General estoria.[5]

She gives examples of variant details that could have come from GE rather than from the Aeneid or the Thebaid; she adds that in his glosses on the Proverbios Santillana says that he is using "Maestre Johan el Ingles" just as Alfonso did. She says that the strange form "espingo" for the Sphinx in the Respuesta and in the Defunsión de don Enrique de Villena is also in GE. The "tarja resplandesçiente" of Perseus in Infierno de los enamorados (XXIII) is the glass shield with which Pallas arms Perseus in GE, II.i.276b5-6 (p.3). Much work still needs to be done to prove conclusively that the thirteenth-century chronicle was the source of much of the classical material of this fifteenth-century poet, and such a study is outside the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless it is quite possible that Santillana used a single

work for his mythological knowledge rather than numerous works which he could not read in the original; Lida de Malkiel concludes her section on Santillana:

> para Santillana la General estoria es un repertorio de fácil manejo que le ayuda a ostentar las alusiones clásicas obligatorias en su escuela literaria, exponiéndole también a los tropiezos inevitables para todo erudito de segunda mano. (p.4)

As will be seen during this chapter the problem of establishing definite sources for Santillana's mythological material is difficult to the point of being almost impossible, because the amount of detail that accompanies his references is generally insufficient as a basis for definite comparisons.

Santillana explains his ideas on poetry:

> ¿E qué cosa es la poesía, que en nuestro vulgar gaya sciencia llamamos, syno un fingimiento de cosas útyles, cubiertas o veladas con muy fermosa cobertura, conpuestas, distinguidas y scandidas por cierto cuento, peso e medida?[6]

His approach to his work therefore is in accordance with the medieval tradition, that an important meaning is to be found beneath a beautiful exterior; thus for him it would seem the imagery, classical allusions, poetic language, interesting stories, and attractive versification are all a cover for the true purpose of the poem. However, as will emerge from this study of his use of mythological material, such a view grossly underestimates Santillana's powers as a poet: this impressive exterior, especially in his later poems, has become an integral part of his poetry, as important to the satisfaction of the reader as any didactic point that the poet wished to communicate. Mythological material was not used ad hoc in his poetry; the type of poem he was writing seemed to dictate the extent to which he used mythological examples. In his canciones and deçires on love there is rarely more than one mythological allusion, which is usually quite a simple and popular one for comparative purposes. In his early

Querella de amor, which is lyrical in tone, there are no such allusions but other deçires, influenced by his own loves, do contain some references to mythology; in " Non es humana la lumbre ", his loved one is compared favourably with Dido,[7] Daphne, Atalanta and Althaea:

> Nunca tal fue Virginea,
> non la muger de Sicheo,
> non la fija de Peneo,
> Atalante, nin Altea.
> Donçella, todo ome crea
> que en ningund otro logar
> nunca me veran amar
> muger, que mi muerte vea. (4)[8]

In the following stanza he asks that her sword should be like that of Achilles which, when it wounds, turns grief to good fortune. This is an unusual comparison and is probably original to Santillana.[9] In "Gentil dama, tal paresçe" Santillana tells how the absence of his loved one darkens the town and he compares it to a town without a leader; this could be an allusion to Troy, as in stanza 3 he says there is such solitude in the town "qual sin Ector su mesnada." This comparison is then carried on into stanza 7 when the poet compares himself to Troilus when he left his loved one:

> Non fue tan desconsolado
> Troylo, quando partio
> de aquella que tanto amo,
> como yo, nin tan penado.

This comparison to the beleaguered city of Troy and one of its heroes is surprising for a love poem, but nevertheless it brings unity to the poem and suggests that Santillana will fight for his love. In the final stanza he turns to another popular mythological figure when he says that Narcissus, in love with himself, did not suffer as much as Santillana. In "Quando la Fortuna quiso" he again compares his suffering to that of Narcissus:

> Quando la Fortuna quiso,
> señora, que vos amasse
> ordeno que yo acabasse
> como el triste de Narçiso:

non de mi mesmo pagado,
mas de vuestra catadura,
fermosa, neta criatura,
por quien vivo e soy penado. (I) [10]

He sees in his lover a temple of Venus (3) although she wishes to kill him. He feels that he is experiencing a living death and his letter to her is like that of Dido; his is the swan song and he is off to his death: "Qual del çisne es ya mi canto / e mi carta la de Dido" (8ab). The letter of Dido is clearly a reference to Ovid's Heroides but there is no evidence that Santillana knew this work in the original. These poems are the exceptional ones, with some mythological content. El aguilando, Carta del marqués a una dama, Dezir de un enamorado, Loor a doña Johanna Urgel, Condesa de Fox and Canciones numbered 237-42 and 244-50 contain no classical allusions. In "Defeto es quien bien se entiende" Santillana again refers to the Trojan story but this time to introduce a note of foreboding; he says that he is grieved, for he thought that his loved one was more faithful than was Achilles to Polyxena; this reference to a disastrous passion gives the note of warning about the outcome of the poet's love. [11] Poems numbered 252-4, Villançico a unas tres fijas suyas, [12] Cantar a sus fijas loando la su fermosura, and "Por vn valle deleytoso" contain no references to mythology. All these poems on the theme of love are written in octosyllabic verse and in a simple, straightforward style. There is only occasionally a mythological allusion, either for comparative purposes or for the outdoing topos. These poems were written at different times throughout Santillana's life, some of them as late as 1444 or 1445 according to Lapesa (pp.75-6); because of this it is evident that his use of mythology did not develop only with his age but depended to some extent on the type of poem he was writing. In the following poems on love which were influenced by Italian writers and which are allegorical there are many references

to mythology and this element becomes more complex with each one that Santillana wrote.

Santillana wrote the Triumphete de Amor in about 1430. This is a free adaptation of Petrarch's Triumphi Cupidinis, though C.R.Post sees some French influence.[13] The poet, having been hunting in a locus amoenus, learns that Venus and Cupid are to make a triumphal procession. The poet describes this resplendent procession and the illustrious retinue of people who have been the victims of Love. This list consists of all types of famous people and contains all the mythological references in the poem except for one. In only three cases is any description added to the name of a mythological figure. The first is that of Atlas with an explicit reference to Ovid's Metamorphoses:

> al astrólogo Atalante,
> que los cielos sustentó
> segund lo rrepresentó
> Naso metaforisante. (XIIe-h)

The second reference is to Venus whom he sees as "discreta, sabia, prudente, / digna de çelsa (tribuna)" (XVIgh). At this point of the poem he has not yet been conquered by love and so he is able to praise Venus and from his superior position survey those, who weaker than him, have succumbed to love. However, the irony of the situation occurs when his objective description of the procession is halted by the arrow of one of Venus' followers wounding the poet so that he too is filled with emotion. The third description is simply two adjectives when Briseis is referred to as "la discreta troyana" (XVIIg). Of the fifty mythological characters in the procession most appear in Petrarch's Triumphi Cupidinis but as they also appear in other poems of Santillana and in other works that he knew it cannot be statedcategorically that they had their source in the Italian work. The only mythological allusion that does not appear in the list describing the procession

occurs in the first stanza:

> Siguiendo el plaziente estilo
> a la dfesa Dfana,
> pasada, çerca dun filo,
> la ora meridfana, (Ia-d)

which is an allusion to the fact that the poet is out hunting. It is interesting to note that Santillana is not always careful to consider closely the significance of the figures he uses as examples, for Daphne (XVIIh), far from being a follower of Venus, was famous for being turned into a laurel tree to avoid the advances of Apollo.

In the Sueño the use of allegory and of mythological allusion is more developed than in the Triumphete. In the Sueño Santillana uses both Lucan's Pharsalia and Boccaccio's Fiammetta, though Post again sees a French influence (pp.206-8). Imagery throughout the poem reveals Santillana's emphasis on the decorative aspect of poetry. It can be seen in the use of mythology to describe the time of day:

> Al adverso de Faeton
> por lo más alto del çielo
> veía fazer su buelo
> con estensa operación;
> acatando en Escurpión
> su luzífera corona,
> discurriendo por la zona,
> a la parte de Aquilón. (VII)

Later in the poem Phaethon is again used for an allusion to the time:

> Pero en el octavo día
> cavalgando por un monte
> quando el padre de Fetonte
> sus clarores recluía. (XXIVe-h)

In stanza XI, the change in the weather is described with a mythological reference: "Eolo soltó los vientos / e cruelmente lidiaron" (XIc-d). As occurred in the works of the preceding centuries, Christianity and paganism are intermingled. Santillana begins by recognizing that destiny is affected by the will of God:

> ¿Qué vale humana defensa
> a divino poderío?
> El que asaya desvarío,
> resçibir espera ofensa. (IIa-d)

But in the following stanza he calls upon Mars to help him in his unhappy plight:

> Mares, tú seas presente
> inflamado, rubicundo,
> pagado, non furibundo,
> porqu'el tu favor sustente
> la mi mano, e represente
> el mi caso desastrado,
> e mi coraçón plagado
> con espada furiente. (III)

This reference to Mars, god of war, introduces the idea of battle, the allegorical battle that will occur between seso and coraçón, between Diana, goddess of chastity, and Venus, goddess of love. It is the mythological seer, Tiresias, famous for guiding Ulysses, who, like Cato in Dante's Purgatory, guides Santillana. He tells him that although we are ruled by Fortune, she can be overcome because we have free-will (XXXII). He tells him to seek out Diana, who is the only one who can reverse the arrows of love. As we have seen (see above, pp. 26-31), the poet of the Alexandre sought to eliminate from his work the direct intervention of mythological characters, for they would detract from the veracity of the story, but here is a complete reversal of this idea for Santillana is deliberately allowing a mythological figure to control the action of the poem. The desire to create a work of art, impressive for its aesthetic qualities, has by the fifteenth century overcome the need for a realistic portrayal of a given theme. The use of allegory inspired by the Italian writers gave the poets freedom to use mythological figures in scenes reflecting the thoughts or actions of the poet. Mythology in this poem is also used for comparative purposes. Santillana compares himself to Theseus (IXe-h) and to the Agenorides (XXXVa-d). On entering Diana's domain he recalls with fear the fate of Actaeon (XLII), but the beauty of his surroundings soon allays his fears. Upon seeing Diana's troops Santillana remembers the Trojan War as recounted by Guido and by Dares and Dictys (L-LIV).

This seems to be a mere excuse for an erudite enumeration of seventeen of the heroes of this war. This list contains the names of a number of mythological figures to whom reference is not often made, for example, Peleus (LIf), Protesilaus (LIIc), Memnon (LIh), Polydamas (LIIf) and Sarpedon (LIIIa). This list is also impressive because references to important episodes in their lives accompany the names of a certain number of the examples, as in:

> Yo leí de Agamenón
> el que conquirió a Turquía,
> e de la cavallería
> que traxo so su pendón. (LIa-d)

These details could have come from GE, from any of the numerous Troy romances that were available at the time or from the works of the writers that Santillana mentions in the poem; the references are not sufficiently detailed for a definite conclusion to be drawn. Diana's anger at seeing the destruction of her forces is effectively compared to the anger of three mythological characters renowned for the results of their rage. These again are rarely used in the Middle Ages and therefore the effect is more impressive:

> E la ravia de Panteo
> leí, e de Tesifone,
> e de la sañuda Prone
> en el crimen de Tereo;
> pero yo nin ví nin veo
> de tal yra cual ardió
> Dïana, desque sintió
> la destroça del torneo. (LXII)

Later, after Cupid has fallen in battle, Santillana sees him as a deceiver and describes him as "El fijo Ascanio, que a Dido / onesta vida robó" (LXIXab). Again Santillana is presenting Dido in a heroic light: her passion is seen to be not of her own volition but instigated, via Cupid, by Venus. After the final triumph of Venus and Cupid, and the mortal blow inflicted on the poet, he likens himself to Persephone (LXXIIf).

Santillana's use of mythology has developed considerably in this poem. Time is regularly alluded to by mythological periphrases, as are certain characters. The lists are shorter than in the Triumphete and more detailed, with a description accompanying some of the characters. There is use of mythology for comparison and for the outdoing topos and some figures previously little represented are included. There is also the original intervention of mythological characters to direct the dénouement of the poem.

The Infierno de los enamorados is the story of the cure for Santillana's love. This poem is based on Dante's Divine Comedy but according to Lapesa (pp.127-31) reveals some knowledge of the Aeneid, which had been translated by Villena between 1427 and 1428. Post sees the influence of French sources (pp.212-14). However, Joseph Seronde says that Phyllis, Demophoon and others do not appear in Hospital d'Amours which Post sees as the source. Seronde strengthens his argument by noting that Dante actually appears in the Spanish poem and that Aeneas, Dido, Pyramus and Thisbe appear as being consumed by a flame which came from their wounded breasts, as they appear in Dante's Inferno ("Dante and the French Influence", p.202). The poet is guided through hell and his observations of the sufferings of famous lovers convinces him that love is to be avoided.

As in the Sueño time is alluded to with a mythological periphrasis:

> Vengamos a la corona,
> que ya non rresplandescía
> de aquel fijo de Latona,
> mas del todo se ascondía. (VIIa-d)

> E dormi, maguer con pena,
> fasta en aquella sazón
> que comiença Filomena
> la triste lamentación
> de Teseo e Pandión,
> quando ya demuestra el polo
> la gentil cara de Apolo
> e diurna enflamación. (XI)

Here the Philomena-Tereus tale is used for a lyrical presentation of time; this is in complete contrast to its appearance in the Sueño where the horror of the story was being referred to. As in the Sueño the protagonist is led by a mythological person. In this poem a skilful periphrasis introduces him:

> Cyerto soy nieto de Egeo,
> fijo del duque de Athenas,
> aquel que vengó a Tideo,
> ganando tierras ajenas;
> e soy el que las cadenas
> de Cupido quebranté,
> e mis naves levanté
> sobre sus fuertes entenas. (XXXI)

Hippolytus was an appropriate person to guide Santillana. He was chaste, a follower of Diana (XXXIII), but he had also suffered through the love of a woman. Thus although he was innocent he knew at first hand the tragic results of love. Santillana describes him as being so handsome that even those who spoke of Narcissus could never have seen such beauty (XIXe-h). A similar outdoing topos occurs when Santillana comes face to face with terrifying monsters, so frightening that if Atalanta were there he would ask her if the Calydonian boar were so horrifying (XIV). Yet another such topos occurs when Hippolytus is compared favourably to the valour of Cadmus and Perseus (XXIII). When Santillana sees the infernal place, he is so struck by its complexity that he uses another outdoing topos, saying:

> Dédale, quel grand quaderno
> obró de tal gumetría,
> por çierto aquí çesaría
> su saber, si bien disçierno. (LIe-h) [14]

As in the Sueño there is some description to accompany the names of some of the characters, for example:

> Nunca demostró Cadino
> el deseo tan ferviente
> de ferir al serpentino
> de la humana simiente,
> nin Perseo tan valiente
> se mostró, quando conquiso
> las tres hermanas que priso
> con el escudo enminente. (XXIII)

However, in the list of people whom he saw in hell there is very little description. Of the nine pairs of mythological characters seen there, none is accompanied by any description except Hero, "con el su buen compañero / en el lago paresçido (LIVg-h).

There is in this poem a striking mixture of pagan and Christian. The Christian picture which emerges, in which hell is a symbol of pain and shows the suffering that must be endured by those who indulge in a passionate love is peopled by a curious mixture of characters, the majority of whom come from mythology. However, four lines in stanza LIII tend to reduce the impact of the mythological hell; Santillana says:

> Non vimos al can Cervero
> a Minos nin a Plutón,
> nin las tres fadas del fiero,
> llanto de grand confusión.

Nor is there any appearance of the traditional figures of the world of Pluto; this is therefore a lovers' hell and the mythological figures simply examples of those who have suffered through love.[15] Santillana greets Hippolytus with the statement:

> ..."De la que amades
> vos dé Dios, si deseades,
> plazer e buen galardón,
> segund fizo a Jasón,
> pues tan bien vos razonades." (XXVIId-h)

The belief in a medieval mind that the Christian God may have rewarded Jason is surprising. However, as has been seen from my study of thirteenth and fourteenth-century works the influence of the moralized Ovids was so great in the Middle Ages that Christian moralizing and pagan tales interacted and so it became inevitable that such statements would arise. There is also a mixing of pagan and medieval in this poem as in the thirteenth-century works studied. Hippolytus appears as a medieval hunter:

Un palafrén cavalgava
muy ricamente guarnido;
la su silla demostrava
ser fecha de oro bruñido;
un capirote vestido
sobre una rropa bien fecha,
traía la manga estrecha
a guisa de omne entendido.

Traía en su mano diestra
un venablo de montero,
un alano a la siniestra
muy fermoso e más ligero;
e bien como cavallero
animoso o de coraje,
venía por el buscaje
siguiendo el vestiglo fiero. (XXI-II)

He greets the poet with a medieval courtly gesture:

e maguer que avisar
yo me quisiera primero,
antes se quitó el sonbrero
que le pudiese saluar. (XXVIe-h)

In contrast to the Sueño and the Triumphete Santillana here invokes the help of pagan deities as was the tradition in the Middle Ages:

O vos, Musas...
.....
vuestro subsidio demando
para mi propusición. (IIag-h)

¡O tú, Planeta diafano
que con tu cerco loziente
fazes al arco mundano
clarífico e prepoliente!
Señor, al caso evidente
tú me influye poesía,
porque narre sin falsía
lo que ví en modo eloqüente. (LII)

As in the earlier works of Santillana there appear here some mythological characters that are not commonly found, for example: Phyllis and Demophoon (LIIIe), Canace and Macareus (LIIIf), Hypermestra and Linus (LVb), Hero and Leander (LIVf-h) and Ganymede (LXVIII).

Santillana ends his poem by comparing himself to yet another mythological person as he did at the end of the Sueño, but this time the comparison is effectively developed. He is carried away like

Ganymede:

E bien commo Ganamedes
al çielo fue rebatado
del águila que leedes,
segund vos fue demostrado,
bien así fuy yo levado
que non sope de mi parte,
nin por qual manera e arte
fuy de aquel centro librado. (LXVIII)

This poem, therefore, though less complex in its theme and presentation than the Sueño, contains a greater variety of mythological usage. The dénouement of the poem is governed by Hippolytus, outdoing topoi bring out important details, and there are comparisons and allusions to time and weather and invocations to pagan deities. There is a mixture of biblical and pagan, and certain medieval notes are introduced when describing Hippolytus. The technique of the list is shortened in this poem thus making it more effective, and some details are added to describe some of the people used for exemplary purposes.

The majority of Santillana's sonnets are also about love. Written during the last twenty years of his life, they mark the culmination of cultured innovation in his style. However, it is innovation in the style and not in the content of the poem: he attempted to adapt the Italian hendecasyllable into Spanish poetry, but he had much less success at this than at integrating a detailed knowledge of the classics into his poetry. The sonnets which are concerned with love contain a substantial amount of mythological material which is usually used for comparative or exemplary purposes. The political sonnets contain more material concerned with classical history than mythological material and the biblical ones contain only biblical examples. Therefore, as occurred with earlier writers, the works concerned only with the Bible and Christian material tend not to be tainted by the introduction of pagan material.

Throughout the sonnets the Fates are referred to either by name or in general for example, in number 5 Prince Enrique would like to cut the threads spun by Clotho. In the first sonnet there is an allusion to Tereus' cruelty. In 4 we are told that love is so great that even Hercules could not fight against it. In 7 Santillana urges the lover who has not the courage to declare his love directly, to write it down as Phaedra did to tell Hippolytus of her love. This is however, an unfortunate example as the love of which Phaedra was writing was an incestuous one; it is not surprising, nevertheless, as it is the one outstanding example in mythology when one character writes to another, and thus from this point of view it is appropriate for Santillana's sonnet. In 15 there is a reference to Sinon and Laocoon, two figures who were not in common usage but who appear again in Comedieta de Ponça and who thus had some special significance for Santillana. Another person who rarely appears in literature is Asclepius; he was famed as a doctor and in sonnet 27 Santillana says that even he could not cure his troubles:

> Nin Esculapio podria curar
> los mis langores, tantos son e tales!
> nin otro alguno, sinon Dios e vos.

In number 9 the rays of Phoebus are used in an unusual way to describe his lover's shining hair. Mythological allusions are not so skilfully used in the sonnets as in his other poems but this could be because he was concentrating all his efforts on the development of the Italian metre.

One of the earliest of Santillana's eulogistic poems is the Planto de la reina Margarida, written around 1430. Lapesa says that there may be some influence of Petrarch's Triumphi Cupidinis in this poem (pp.107-8). It is written in praise of the dead Queen of Aragon, and Santillana uses the familiar technique of allegory. A complicated mythological periphrasis describes nightfall:

A la hora que Medea
su çiençia proferia
a Jason, quando queria
assayar la rica prea,
e quando de grado en grado
las tiniebras han robado
toda la claror febea. (1)

The scene of lamentation is set by the poet's finding the goddess of love weeping in his room. She tells him she is grieving for the death of "la mejor de las mejores" (3g), whom he considers to be either his lover or Margarida. There are then two interesting and original comparisons denoting the change in the fortune of the Queen who is going from life to death: in the first Santillana refers to Hypsipyle who became grief-stricken when she heard of Jason's infidelity:

Qual la fija de Thoante
torno con el mensajero
su gesto, de plazentero
en doloroso semblante;
el qual de Colchos dezia
nuevas, por do se entendia
Jason non le ser constante. (4)

In the second he refers to the wounding of Nessus by Hercules: as the strength was taken from Nessus so it has been from Santillana at the Queen's death:

atal, fuera de mi seso,
me leve como sandio
sin fuerça, sin poderio,
bien como el çentauro Nesso
del grand Hercules ferido. (5a-e)

This comparison is less impressive, however, because while it is true that Nessus was grief-stricken when he realized he was dying from Hercules' blow, this is not the salient part of the myth; what is significant is that his anger and hatred at the point of death caused him to be the instigator of the death of Hercules. Santillana introduces a list, mostly of groups of people who have come to mourn Margarida, for example, there are Trojans, Athenians, Asians, Minos with the Cretans, and the Amazons whom Santillana transforms to show

their grief; they appear "sus cabeças sin coronas, / las caras desfiguradas" (14cd). David William Foster says that by introducing the great figures of antiquity into this courtly scene of grief the poet accords to Margarida a dignity and significance far beyond any possible biographical attributes.[16] An allusion to the funeral of Hector reveals how very solemn is this lament for Margarida:

> Çiertamente non se falla
> que en el grand templo de Apolo,
> por quien el sostuvo solo
> a Dardania por batalla,
> tales duelos se fizieron,
> maguer que los escrivieron
> por extremidad sin falla. (17)

The Coronaçion de mossen Jordi was also written about 1430. In Prohemio e carta, Santillana describes Jordi as "cauallero prudente, el qual ciertamente conpuso asaz fermosas cosas, las quales el mesmo asonaua, ca fué músico excellente" (p.11). In the poem he again uses the allegorical technique of the vision to praise the Catalan poet. This poem may have been influenced by Boccaccio and the recently translated Aeneid, according to Lapesa (pp.110-11). It begins with a mythological periphrasis for the time:

> La fermosa compañera
> de Tithon se demostrava,
> e las sus fustas bogava
> contra la nuestra rivera;
> e la mas confina esphera
> a los mortales sentia
> la diurnal alegria,
> maguer fuesse postrimera. (1)

The poet dreams of Venus in a beautiful place where there is a throne surrounded by Homer, Virgil and Lucan who have come to honour mossen Jordi with a crown of laurel for his poetry. Santillana praises the poet by portraying him as the centre of the great figures of literature. The concentration of this poem is on the description of the locus amoenus, the throne and the eulogizing of Jordi.

Mythology takes only a minor part in this poem though there are two comparisons, one when Santillana compares himself to Aeneas when he sees the beauty of Venus:

> Tal dizen que Eneas vido
> a la Çipriana, quando
> se le demostro, caçando
> çerca los reynos de Dido:
> por qual causa mi sentido
> al Eneyda recordando,
> vide ser ellas del vando
> de la madre de Cupido. (5)

and the other comparing the beauty of Venus to that of Polyxena (8).

Santillana wrote many other eulogistic poems, simple in style and content. They contain mythological material only for comparative purposes, in order to bring out the virtues of the protagonist as in Canción a ruego de su primo don Fernando de Guevara, Dezir en loor de la reina de Castilla, and Sobre la quartana del señor rey don Johan II.

Santillana wrote two poems to Villena, who was by this time one of the most impressively learned men of the fifteenth century and also a friend of Santillana. The first one was the Pregunta de nobles, que fizo el Marques de Santillana a don Enrique, Señor de Villena, which was one of his earlier poems and is based on enumeration within the Ubi-sunt? theme. This poem contains no allegory and the use of mythology is not complex. It consists of a list of mythological examples, mixed with those from the Bible and history. The poem is written in arte mayor and thus there is more room for description of each character, for example:

> Pregunto que fue de Minos de Creta,
> el qual conquistava las tierras de Niso,
> e fizo en Athenas aquello que quiso
> e so la su mano la tovo subjeta? (3a-d)

The following impressive periphrasis has no need to include the name of Hercules:

> Por que non paresçe el que deificaron
> sus doze trabajos, o que ha seydo del,
> o alla donde yaze si viste la piel
> del bravo leon, o do se ençerraron
> sus grandes vigores, que asy sojudgaron
> grand parte de tierras e mares del mundo?
> E que fue de aqueste que al çentro profundo
> entro por fazaña, segund recontaron? (9)

This reference to the deification of Hercules is the only pointer that appears in the whole of Santillana's poetry to his attitude to mythology. It appears from this that he views it from a euhemeristic point of view.

The second poem to Villena is the Defunsion de don Enrique de Villena, señor doto e de excelente ingenio. This is also written in arte mayor; it is an allegory and the use of mythology is more complex than in his other poem to Villena; the work builds up progressively towards the climax when the dead master is found. Miguel Garci Gómez links this work with that of Bias contra Fortuna and sees it as a turning from medieval traditions towards that of humanism:

> Estas composiciones del marqués son fruto temprano y ya maduro del humanismo en cuanto que su autor se despreocupa de las realidades teológicas y creencias supersticiosas que ocupaban las mentes medievales, para centrarse en el hombre racional - homo sapiens frente al homo religiosus.

The Catholic idea of death is that the final achievement is a direct contemplation of God, but here the heaven of Villena is the Olympus of mythology. It is the Muses who declare this venerability. Villena reaches this exalted position through his own achievements.[17] The poem begins with an allusion to the time of day and also one to the time of the year which is an unusual occurrence in Santillana's work:

> Robadas avian el Austro e Borea
> a prados e selvas las frondes e flores,
> vençiendo los fuegos e grandes calores,
> e ya mitigada la flama apolea;
> al tiempo que sale la gentil Ydea
> efuerça con rayos el ayre noturno
> e los antipodes han claro diurno,
> segund textifica la gesta Magnea. (1)

He skilfully evokes the esteem he has for Villena by saying that

although others invoke the help of Apollo, Cupid, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and the Muses he needs only the help of Villena:

> Mas yo a ti sola me plaze llamar,
> o cithara dulçe mas que la de Orpheo,
> que sola tu ayuda non dubdo, mas creo
> mi rustica mano podra ministrar. (3a-d)

Indeed in other poems Santillana himself invokes the help of the pagan deities (Comedieta de Ponça,2ab), so that this statement here is not so much a portrayal of Santillana's feelings towards the use of pagan deities but is introduced solely to emphasize the esteem he holds for Villena. The allusion to Villena's skill on the lyre, using the outdoing topos is probably an introduction to the domination of the wild animals by Villena, for like Orpheus he had great power over the animal kingdom as the next few stanzas reveal. The central universal grief caused by the death of Villena is exemplified by the fact that the wild animals he met on the way up the hill in the dead of night were showing not anger but intense grief; there were so many of them that Santillana doubts whether even Hippolytus, Faunus or Chiron ever met such monsters:

> Ypolito e Fauno yo dubdo si vieron
> nin Chiro en Emathia tal copia de fieras
> de tales nin tantas diversas maneras,
> nin las venadriçes que al monte se dieron. (7a-d)

Even the monsters from mythology are there mourning, and there is a periphrasis for the Sirens who have come from their home in the sea to lament the death of the great poet:

> segui mi camino, assaz trabajoso,
> do yo vi çentauros, esphingos, arpinas;
> e vi mas las formas de fembras marinas,
> nuçientes a Ulixes con canto amoroso. (9e-h)

There is no explanation of these monsters which probably reveals that Santillana is so concerned with the continuity of the allegorical approach that he does not wish to break the allusion with didacticism. The degree of lamentation is emphasized by various examples from

mythology, for example that of Lycurgus for Archemorus (12gh), and of Nessus and Silenus (13g). Here again Nessus is being used as an example of grief which is surprising. Santillana is approaching the end of his journey in terror; night is darkening even more and this fact is alluded to by a mythological periphrasis, which is most impressive as it uses Hecate, very rarely used in the Middle Ages, although she was synonymous with Diana in Ovid:

> La fulgor de Ecates se yva alexando
> de aquel emispherio e apenas luzia;
> la fosca tiniebra el ayre impedia,
> e dobles terrores me fueron çercando. (15a-d)

Santillana reaches the top of the hill "no menos cansados que Dante a Acheronte" (17c). This is an interesting example of Santillana's experiencing mythology at one remove. The Muses take a central part as it is they who sing the ultimate lament for Villena; they sing of the great writers with whom Villena is equated, in talent and now in death.[19] Santillana's own grief and anger at his friend's death appears in stanza 22 when he attacks Atropos for cutting the threads of life spun by Clotho. This is an impressive eulogy of one of the great humanist writers of the fifteenth century in Spain; the mythological examples add much emphasis to the idea of the universal lamenting and the fact that some are rarely used in the Middle Ages is in keeping with the type of image taught and used by Villena. Santillana acknowledges the complexity of the style in this poem:

> Si mi baxo estilo aun non es tan plano,
> bien como querrian los que lo leyeron,
> culpen sus ingenios que jamas se dieron
> a ver las estorias que non les explano. (10e-h)

The whole poem is elevated in image and thought and the complex use of mythology is probably an effort to equal the very erudite style of Villena himself.

I shall now study the poems principally about politics and fortune. The first one is the Comedieta de Ponça, written in 1436.

This can be seen as a patriotic poem in which the Aragonese are champions of Spain as a whole in their Italian campaign or as a poem about fortune. It is in fact both: Alfonso V and his brothers were captured by the Duke of Milan after being defeated in a naval battle off the island of Ponza; they are later restored to glory. Fortune can take away and restore as she herself says:

> O vos dubitantes, creed las estorias
> e los infortunios de los humanales,
> e ved si los triunfos, honores e glorias
> e grandes poderes son perpetuales.
> Mirad los imperios e casas reales,
> e como Fortuna es superiora:
> revuelve lo alto en baxo a desora
> e faze los ricos e pobres eguales. (1)

A. J: Foreman sees this poem as the most ambitious of the Marqués' narrative dezires in its length, its use of latinate syntax and diction and its national as well as personal preoccupations, but he continues, it is more than just a culmination, for it embodies new principles of organization, verging on the classical and modern ideal of structural unity.[20] Despite this, there is no great development in Santillana's use of mythology although a much larger number of characters is referred to in this poem than in any of his earlier ones. In the first part of the poem there are individual exempla of people who have fallen from good fortune and in the second there are two throngs of figures, the great men and the great women who, having succumbed to Fortune's power, are following her. Pedro M. Barreda-Tomás thinks that in the great list of classical names, Santillana has failed to capture the life of the classics, that he is still outside the Renaissance but is at the doors of it. He says:

> Desde luengo esta cultura clásica de que hace alarde el poeta en la Comedieta es de sabor erudito, enumerativa y bastante ingenua para el lector moderno. Pone de manifiesto sus conocimientos de la Antigüedad, pero este conocimiento es mecánico, lo mismo que un catálogo de nombres o una bibliografía. La atmósfera vital que da sentido a la cultura antigua escapa al poeta; el concepto del hombre y de la vida del mundo clásico están sentidos básicamente a través de una reconstrucción escolar que los desdibuja mucho.[21]

However, the use of classical mythology in this poem adds considerably to the aesthetic quality of a poem which is to a large extent doctrinal. It is impossible within the scope of this study to consider each mythological reference in this poem as there are something like one hundred, but I shall give examples of the most representative and impressive ones. There are some skilful allusions, for example:

> la triste nuera de rey Leumedon, (12b: Hecuba)
>
> Con tanta inoçençia como fue trayda
> la fermosa virgen, de quien fabla Guydo,
> al triste holocausto del puerto de Aolida,
> fablo la terçera, tornada al sentido. (13a-d: Iphigenia)
>
> el sexto adormia con flauta sonante
> al pastor de Io de sueño engañoso. (92g-h: Argus)

The majority of mythological references in this poem simply name the character, but in a few Santillana relates episodes concerning the life of a person. For example, Juan is described as being very brave and he has travelled through places like: "la selva nombrada, do vençio Theseo / el neptunal toro, terror de las gentes" (33e-f). The musical skill of Alfonso is described with a comparison to Amphion:

> Las sonantes cuerdas de aquel Anphion
> que fueron de Thebas muralla e arreo,
> jamas non ovieron tanta perfección
> como los sus cursos melifluos, yo creo. (28a-d)

The most popular use for mythology is for comparative purposes, to praise individuals and for the outdoing topos; a few typical examples must suffice. Doña Catherina was no less beautiful or upset than was Dido when Aeneas and his followers left her:

> Non menos fermosa e mas dolorida
> que la Tiryana, quando al despedir
> de los Iliones, vio ya recogida
> la gente a las naves, en son de partir. (14a-d)[22]

There is another comparison with Dido when the Queen Mother, having read the letter telling of the imprisonment of the princes is about to die:

Leyda la carta o letra, cayo
en tierra privada de fabla e sentido,
e de todo punto el anima dio,
non menos llagada que la triste Dido. (83a-d)

Foreman suggests that Santillana "may be using the sympathetic, yet errant, figure of Dido here as a subtle and muted way of criticizing his own heroine" (p.124). This is of course possible but Santillana uses Dido so often as an example of despair and grief that I think it would be dangerous to read anything more into this comparison. Don Alfonso was no less skilled in astrology than was Atlas (27). Another impressive comparison occurs when the Queen is speaking of her grief and troublesome dream:

Pues sienta quien siente, si sentido basta,
despues de tal sueño qual yo fincaria:
por çierto non creo que en Thebas Yocasta,
por bien que recuente su triste elegia,
la su dolor fuesse egual de la mia,
nin de la troyana, por mucho que Homero
descriva el su caso e sueño mas fiero,
como soberano de la poesia. (55)

Having heard of the defeat at Ponza, doña Leonor speaks of the misfortunes of the royal house and dwells on the unfortunate battles of which she has read in books (45-8). There appear here Sinon and Laocoon, two unusual figures who also appear in sonnet 15:

e todo el engaño que fizo Synon
alli se dezia, como por enxemplo
e de las serpientes venientes al templo,
e como se priso el grand Ylion.(47e-h)

There are in this passage other examples that are not in common usage: "la fija de Niso" (48c), "la muerte del niño Androgeo" (48e) and "la conmovida yra de Pentheo" (48h). Arnold G. Reichenberger says that the accumulation of names in stanzas 43-8 has a dazzling effect on the reader. The topic at hand gains in importance, significance and dignity by being related to mythical, legendary and historical figures of established reputation. He says that the sequence is not arbitrary

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though not completely systematized. While it is true that the figures appear in pairs there is no thread linking them all together, except that all the figures belong to Greek mythology, though the names of the gods are Latin. Stanzas 95-105 give a list of the principal rulers who accompany Fortune. There is little description and the list is impressive only for its length and broad span of examples.

Santillana invokes the Muses to help him in many places: 2e-h, 51h, 84a-d, 94a-d and 101. He also invokes assistance from Jupiter in 2a-d and Apollo in 84h. On the other hand he is not consistent in these invocations as he makes doña Leonor say:

> A mi non convienen aquellos favores
> de los vanos dioses, nin los invocar,
> que vos, los poetas e los oradores,
> llamades, al tiempo de vuestro exhortar;
> ca la justa causa, que presta logar
> a maternal ravia, me fara eloquente. (22a-f)

However, this is introduced rather to emphasize doña Leonor's grief and rage at what has happened, than as an attack on invocations to mythological deities, in much the same way as in the Defunsion Santillana rejects the help of pagan deities, relying solely on that of Villena.

As in other poems Santillana uses mythology to describe the time of day, but here the allusion is very complex. The coming of the dawn as the Queen Mother describes her dream is linked with an
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allusion to Aeneas drawing up his troops to do battle with Turnus, thus also anticipating the result of the battle of which the Queen is speaking:

> Ya los corredores de Apolo robavan
> de nuestro horizonte las escuridades,
> e las sus fermosas batallas llegavan
> por los altos montes a las sumidades;
> e bien como el Teucro e los Eneades
> ferieron las azes e señas de Turno,
> rompio la teniebra el ayre noturno
> e fizo patentes las sus claridades. (56)

The majority of the mythological details occur in the enumerations, the stories told by the dueñas, and in the description of the followers of Fortune. The lack of variety in usage of the figures is made up for by the great number of characters introduced, many of whom were not in common use. Many of these are to be found in stories of the Theban and Trojan wars, two episodes obviously popular with Santillana. The role of the classics here is, as Reichenberger says (p.25), ornamental and not functional.

The Proverbios, completed in 1437, are much simpler in style. They had been requested by Juan II for the education and moral instruction of Prince Enrique on his twelfth birthday. As they were aimed at the education of the young this probably accounts for the lack of mythological references. They were accompanied by a learned prologue and a gloss in which biblical and mythological allusions to ancient history were clarified, to help the less knowledgeable reader. Lapesa says that Santillana relied on Boccaccio for some mythological references (p.209). Only four out of the 101 stanzas contain any mythology. The argument for chastity brings the first substantial enumeration of the poem. Listed as famous for their chastity are the Amazons (53g), and for their beauty and chastity are Diana (54c), Daphne (54c) and Dido (54d). Dido and the Amazons would seem to be inappropriate examples as they do not come into the same category of chastity as Daphne and Diana. However, the Amazons had intercourse only once a year for the sole purpose of procreation and Dido was loyal to Aeneas unto death and so to this extent they could be called chaste (compare Hercules, below p.204). Under fortitude, Santillana argues that the man who loves should not expect the crown of Mars (57c-d), a common epithet for war. In stanza 65 Santillana uses Midas as an example of the evil that avarice can bring to a person. All the examples are clear and popular so that the true didactic meaning of the

poem is not obscured by allusions that would only be understood by those well-versed in the classics.

Bias contra Fortuna, written about 1448, is also didactic, warning people not to be dominated by the acts of fortune. However, it is not principally didactic, but has a political purpose: in 1448 Santillana's cousin, the conde de Alba, was imprisoned for political reasons and one of those responsible for this was Alvaro de Luna. The conde de Alba asked Santillana to send him some of his work to console him and Bias contra Fortuna is the result. This poem is an attempt to console his cousin. There is no allegory in this poem and the attitude to mythology is straightforward and clear. There are many mythological examples but there is no periphrasis and as there is some description with each character everything is readily comprehensible to the less erudite reader. In the 180 stanzas there are some 40 different mythological figures mentioned, seven of them more than once. This poem is a debate between the Greek Bias, a Stoic and one of the seven wise men of ancient Greece, and Fortuna. Copious examples are introduced to consolidate each point. The basic arguments are established before the elaboration with the mythological allusions begins. Fortuna says that all are her subjects but Bias only understands virtue; he disagrees that man needs riches: if he has friends, that is all that is needed to withstand the vicissitudes of fortune. Bias uses as examples of Fortuna causing evil Cadmus, Laius and Oedipus (80). Fortuna retorts: "Non te paresçe que basta / que reynaron?" but Bias has a quick response: "Si; mas di como acabaron, / e non dexes a Yocasta" (80e-h). She says that the kings to whom she gave the greatest gifts brought about their own downfall as in the cases of Thyestes, Atreus and Tereus (85a-d). She is by now sufficiently angered to threaten Bias with prison, but from stanza 90 to the end Bias demonstrates his ability to match any move by Fortuna. He tells her that although he may spend the rest of his days in prison he would

not mind as long as he could have with him his books of philosophy, which probably reveals the influence of Boethius, and continues that even if he were blinded he would not despair: blind Democritus and Homer continued to sing. He adds that he does not fear death; some, he reminds Fortuna, even sought it like Dido (119g), Deianira (120e) and Jocasta (120f). He knows that only the evil are tortured and he counters Fortuna's description of hell by one of the paradise to which he will go. These are but a few of the examples used to show the skilful yet simple way in which Santillana uses mythology in this poem. More description is attached to the names of each figure than in the earlier poems. Three stanzas are devoted to Hercules (76-8), the last of which succinctly contains four episodes of his life:

> Los çentauros debelo
> en favor de Peritheo;
> las arpinas, que a Fineo
> le robavan, assaeto.
> Ya de la troyana prea
> muchos son
> que fazen la narraçion,
> e de la sierpe lernea.

This stanza reveals inaccuracies: nowhere in the classical rendering of the tale is Hercules associated with the Harpies, who were driven from the table of Phineus by Zetes and Calais and attacked Aeneas and his men on the islands of the Strophades. Villena in his Doze trabajos de Hércules, contains the same details as Santillana and it is possible that he took this example from his friend.[25] These details also appear in GE,II.ii.11b. Alfonso's source is unknown but was probably one of the moralized Ovids. Nevertheless there must have been two renderings of the story, for Alfonso in II.i.266a tells that Zetes and Calais drove the Harpies from Phineus' table.[26] The details of the figures in torment in the underworld would seem to be based on Virgil's description in book VI of the Aeneid. Each character has one stanza attributed to him, for example, stanzas 157-9 and 162; 160 contains

two figures:

E las entrañas de Tyçio,
que por el buitre roydas
son e nunca despendidas,
pena de su malefiçio:
e los laphitas temientes
la grand peña,
que en somo se les despeña,
al creer de todas gentes.

Many of the examples are from the Trojan War and some from the Theban War, the majority in Bias' speeches. There is one example that stands out as it tells of the parricide of Telegonus, a most uncommon allusion. It does not occur in the most well-known and popular vehicles for transmitting mythological knowledge but it is in Dictys' account of the Trojan war and it is possible that Santillana took this example direct from there:

Nin contenta de la vida
de Ulixes, vexada e triste,
poco a poco la traxiste
en manos del parriçida
Thelegono, non culpado.
Qual dolor
fue semblante, nin mayor,
nin rey mas infortunado? (74)

In only two places is mythology used not for exemplary purposes, or casually in passing, but for description. In stanza 26 Bias says that even if there were another flood he would still have friends:

Si la machina del mundo
peresçiera por Pheton
o viera Deucalion
otro diluvio segundo;
yo non dubdo pueda ser
por tales vias
de buenos amigos Bias
fallesçido, e caresçer.

In stanza 103 he says that when the world began:

nin un solo
rayo demostrava Apolo,
nin su claridad la luna.

At the end of the poem Bias muses upon how he will face death and the

road he will take to the final consolation; he sees the wonders of nature around him, in the great temples, and then alludes to the idyllic island of Delphos:

> Quales el Febo e Diana,
> en la insola Delphos
> nasçieron ambos a dos,
> e la su lumbre diafana,
> dizen ser vistos alli
> actualmente,
> victoriosos del serpiente
> e de Acteon ansy. (177)

Although therefore the use of mythology is not varied in this poem the diversity of examples and the details accompanying them compensate for this. It is a poem aimed at someone probably not as literate as Santillana and therefore the style is simple and the examples readily understandable.

Following the imprisonment of his cousin Santillana wrote a poem attacking Alvaro de Luna just before his execution in 1453, Favor de Hercules contra Fortuna. Hercules is seen as the exemplary figure who overcomes monsters and rights wrong; so must justice reign over "el falso senado tyrano cruel" (1f). Santillana concludes the poem with a clever allusion to one who tried to avoid the justice of Hercules:

> Sin mas dilaçion la bestia dañosa
> sea afogada, sin aver perdon,
> e non le aproveche tornarse en vesion
> de sierpe nin toro, por arte ynfintosa.

This is a brilliant four lines of allegory in which the true double meaning of the poem is exposed and which would only have been understood by the learned; the guile of Achelous changing his shape did not protect him from being overcome, thus however much Alvaro may use subversive means he will not escape punishment.[27] In the six and a half arte mayor stanzas Santillana outlines many of the main events

of Hercules' life. He begins with the killing of the serpents in the cradle (2ab), and then goes on to give a good allusion to the freeing of Hesione: "defienda del drago a la muy fermosa, / sobiendola luego en alta tribuna" (2cd). This is not a very common episode but one which Santillana had used earlier in Bias contra Fortuna, then referring to her as "la troyana prea" (78e). As in Bias also, he refers to the episode of Hercules with the Harpies and Phineus and to his overcoming the Centaurs. In stanza 3 the poet tells of the Nemean lion and Diomedes. In 4 he emphasizes what to him was clearly a most important episode in the life of Hercules, the conquest of Spain, when he turned vice into virtue. But to contrast with this great deed and to emphasize the infamy of Alvaro he goes on to allude to him as a cloud:

> El puerto de Arcadia non finque seguro,
> mas por sus maldades sea corregido:
> e finque a la España muy esclaresçido
> el muy virtuoso, catholico, puro,
> adverso a los viçios, de virtudes muro,
> tras quien se defienden e defenderan:
> e sirva e reguarde al gran capitan,
> e alçese luego este nublo escuro. (4)

In the next two stanzas Santillana mentions the Lernean Hydra, Antaeus, and the apples of the Hesperides. This poem is therefore principally a concealed attack on Alvaro and thus Santillana here is using mythology as a cover for his real attack against Alvaro. After Alvaro de Luna's death Santillana wrote a direct attack on him, Doctrinal de privados. This poem contains no allegory and very little mythology. This may be because Luna is speaking and thus, such a person could not be expected to reach the same heights of mythological allusion in his speech as for instance, Bias or the royal ladies in Comedieta de Ponça. Santillana makes Alvaro confess his own sins and plead forgiveness. Only stanzas 15 and 16 contain enumerative examples, which are classical and biblical except for one of Orpheus' music.

This poem is didactic in that Santillana explains that evil is repaid with evil and that we should be humble and good and turn the other cheek. Alvaro confesses all his faults to God our Father and admits that his vices have brought about his downfall: he has kept none of the commandments and asks for forgiveness. This is a didactic and condemnatory poem written in octosyllables in a straightforward way so that everyone may join in condemning Alvaro and in learning from his faults.

Vision, one of the earlier poems, is an attack against the general state of Spain. Although it is an allegory there is very little mythological material. The three ladies in the poem are Firmeza, Lealtad and Castidat. They can find no rest in Spain and their grief is emphasized by comparing it to that of:

> las hermanas
> e muger de Campaneo,
> que vinieron a Theseo,
> quando las guerras thebanas.
> E lei de las troyanas,
> quando su destruyçion;
> pero tal lamentaçion
> non vieron gentes humanas. (3)

This reference is to Capaneus, one of the seven against Thebes. The only other mythological reference is an allusion to time in which Apollo and Diana are joined to describe the day:

> Al tiempo que va trençando
> Apolo sus crines de oro
> e recoje su thesoro,
> fazia el horizonte andando,
> e Diana va mostrando
> su cara resplandesçiente,
> me falle cabo una fuente,
> do vi tres dueñas llorando. (1)

This lack of mythology is probably in order to make certain that all his readers may easily understand the concern he has for the decadent state of Spain, but it can also be explained by the fact that this poem was written early in Santillana's career when his use of

mythological allusion was not as great as in his later works.

The remaining works of Santillana contain very little mythology.[28] The Serranillas, composed between 1423 and 1440 and influenced by the poet's travels, follow the traditional theme of a traveller waylaid by a brigand-type woman. They contain no mythological references. The religious works, Los goços de nuestra señora and A nuestra señora de Guadalupe,[29] as one would expect, contain no mythological details. Coplas a don Alfonso rey de Portugal is in praise of the King urging him to follow God's commandments, and thus contains no mythology. In the same way, "De tu resplandor, o Luna" urges Christ to come to the aid of the Castilian monarchs and the examples are all biblical. The Dezir contra los aragoneses is a satirical poem on religious festivals and contains no mythology. The questions and answers of Santillana and Mena contain only two mythological references to the court of Phoebus and to the Harpy. The mixture of biblical and pagan in Canoniçaçion de los bienaventurados sanctos, maestre Viçente Ferrer, predicador, e maestre Pedro de Villacrezes, frayre menor (c.1455) is, on the other hand, startling and unusual. In the first stanza, while thinking of Christ Santillana recalls the time of day with a mythological allusion:

> Remoto a vida mundana
> e de cuydados ageno,
> pensando en el sancto seno
> de Jhesu, sagrada archana,
> a la sazon que Adriana
> fue dexada en la ribera,
> e la noturnal lumbrera
> se nos faze mas çercana.

The four strange animals that he saw are probably Christian symbols for the four Evangelists but two are alluded two with mythological examples:

> Vi la imagen que robo
> a la soror de Cadino, (13ab) - the bull

e la forma rapinante,
que se demostro Athamante,
al tiempo que ensandesçio. (13f-h) - the ram.

Nevertheless, apart from these examples the poem is religious in content and the procession of clerics, friars and virgins contains no mythological examples. Villacrezes and Ferrer are canonized because of their clean, saintly, ascetic lives.

Santillana's variety in the mythological characters that he used is equalled by the variety of ways in which he uses them. He uses some hundred figures for enumerative purposes, and there are about the same number of instances of the use of mythology for exemplary purposes; these are chiefly in the context of love. There are examples of those who have loved, or who have suffered through love, those who have been affected by fortune, adversely or happily, those who have fallen from greatness, or who have suffered or received punishment. Then there are those who sought death, the avaricious, the trustworthy and the deceiver. There are also figures who were forewarned of the future in dreams. The use of mythology for comparative purposes or for the outdoing topos is just as popular with Santillana as the use for exemplary purposes. There are comparisons for beauty, fame, anger, grief, skill at music, speed, skill in war. Comparison is also used for the subjects of death, knowledge, darkness, murder, geometric skill, virtue, cruelty, fear, abduction and innocence.

There are some twenty direct invocations to pagan deities and a few more than this number of allusions to time. Santillana enjoyed, and was skilful in, his use of periphrasis. A character may be referred to by naming one of his relatives, or by another name or epithet, or by an allusion to a certain event in his life. Although it becomes clear from reading Santillana's poetry that his knowledge of mythology was vast there is insufficient detail for one to be able to trace with any certainty the source of that knowledge. Thanks to

Schiff, we know that Santillana had access to a large number of works containing mythological details and indeed throughout his poetry he mentions the names of the great classical writers, but all the figures and episodes that he mentioned can be found in many of the works of these writers. He says in his Proemio e carta that he prefers the Italian writers:

> Los ytálicos prefiero yo, so emienda de quien más sabrá, a los franceses, solamente ca las sus obras se muestran demás altos ingenios e adórnanlas e compónenlas de fermosas e peregrinas ystorias a los franceses de los ytálicos en el guardar del arte; de lo qual los ytálicos, syno solamente en el peso e consonan no se fazen mención alguna. (p.10)

Indeed the influence of the Italian works can be seen clearly in Santillana's poems, especially in the allegorical ones. It is also in these poems that the majority of the mythological allusions occur. This does not however lead me to suggest that the mythological material came via the Italian works, though undoubtedly the fact that it is there is due in part to its presence in the Italian works. This difficulty in establishing a source for Santillana's mythological knowledge is a pointer to his skill as a poet. He acquired knowledge from diverse sources but he absorbed this knowledge, assimilated it and integrated it into a work which is stamped with his own personality a work which, although full of classical mythology, is relevant to the poet, his feelings and the political and social environment in which he was living.

Juan de Mena

Juan de Mena had a greater direct knowledge of the classics than did Santillana, and may even have known by heart some pieces of Virgil, Lucan and Ovid. In his commentary on the Coronación Mena says that he is using the Metamorphoses. He lists the writers he knows from classical and early Christian times: Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, Boethius,

Seneca, St Augustine and St Isidore are the writers of greatest importance to him. He also quotes Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Pliny's Natural History and Statius. He knew Horace, Martial, the Imago Mundi some of the treatises of Aristotle on Physics, Plato, Dictys and Dares. From the medieval writers he mentions el Tudense, Bishop Lucas of Tuy. Of the Italians he knew Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch. He does not, however, often refer to his favourite writers in his poetry. He himself made a translation of the Ilias Latina entitled La Yliada en romance. He follows the Latin closely with little deviation in the detail. For this reason I shall not discuss this work further, but shall concentrate on the more questionable points of his poetry.[30]

As is the case with Santillana the majority of the love poems written in octosyllabic verse are simple in style and lacking in mythological references. In "Guay de aquel hombre", Mena praises his lover's beauty and continues to love her although he is perpetually tormented by her. There are a few commonplace mythological references here, the Sirens as deceivers (5)[31] and the judgment of Paris which is ingeniously introduced to emphasize his lover's beauty:

> Si ouierades ya seydo,
> fiziera razon humana,
> segund el gesto garrido,
> vos ser madre de Cupido
> y goçar de la mançana:
> mas si Paris conosciera
> que tan fermosa señora
> por nascer aun estouiera,
> para vos, si lo supiera,
> la guardara fasta agora. (6)[32]

There is an interesting mixture of biblical and mythological when Mena speaks of "Diana de las palmas" in stanza 10, to portray his lover's chastity. The palm is traditionally a symbol of victory; here the intermingling of mythological and Christian symbolism is probably the result of the popularity of moralizing pagan material.[33] "La lumbre se recogia" begins with a serene setting described with the help of

mythology which stands in complete contrast to Mena's state of mind about the hopeless reality of his love:

> La lumbre se recogia
> de la ymagen de Diana
> contra la mar Oceana,
> saluo Venus que traya
> mensaje de la mañana. (la-e)

Reichenberger also notes that what is striking about this introductory stanza is the lack of connection between it and the tone of the poem as a whole. The equilibrium between the classical humanist and the Cancionero has not yet been achieved.[34] However, the introduction of Diana, goddess of chastity, and Venus, goddess of love, establish at the outset the opposition in his love. There are no other mythological references in this poem. In "Vuestra vista me repara" Mena compares himself to Hercules, the one who was so strong that he killed the Hydra, for he feels that even Hercules could not have been strong enough to withstand his lady's love. There are fourteen love poems with no mythological references. However, in Claro escuro and "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion", straightforward octosyllabic stanzas telling of Mena's personal feelings of love alternate with arte mayor stanzas written in an elaborate style and containing many classical allusions.[35]

Reichenberger says of "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion" that the arte mayor lines lift the bitter disappointment of Mena's love into the higher realm of mythology by hyperbolic comparison but that he is not successful in integrating the learned material into the smooth flow of artistic expression in this poem. However, the Cancionero tradition is here side by side with a wish to express classical lore for aesthetic and ornamental purposes and thus a poem of transition can be seen here (p.410). In the 10 arte mayor stanzas, Mena mentions over 40 mythological characters, 8 of whom are skilfully alluded to, for example: "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion" (1a) and the characters in stanza 7:

Sobre los biuos sere muerto digno
de tales cruezas no ver mi desseo,
en ti qual lo vieron aquel su sobrino,
las tias y madre del triste Pentheo:
o fue del hijo del falso Tereo
o qual ouo Scylla de Niso su padre,
o de Meleagro la reyna su madre,
alla do murieron Plexippo y Toxeo.

Mythology is chiefly used for comparative purposes, to emphasize Mena's own deep love and despair and his lover's cruelty, the above stanza being typical. Only once does Mena use mythology for exemplary purposes, when he recalls the prophecies given to Cadmus and Oedipus:

Negar tu palabra no fue buen exemplo
del hecho que pudo llamar fabuloso
Cadino, que ouo respuesta enel templo
castalio, de Febus su dios copioso
entre Enope y rio çofoso,
ni menos Edipo alla do rogara
por ver de que padre se originara
do fizo gran crimen en son batalloso. (5)

As in Santillana's poems there is the by now customary allusion to time to introduce the poem, a powerful mythological periphrasis for the coming of night:

Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion
auia su gesto fulgente oportuno
puesto enla vltima fuiste mansion
fondon de la suerte que cupo a Neptuno. (1a-d)

The source for the wide variety of characters who appear in this work, many of whom were not in common usage, is difficult to ascertain. Many of the examples appear in the Metamorphoses, such as Hyperion, Plexippus, Toxeus, the Belides, the Minyeídes and the five people in hell but there are others who do not, like Arcas Ancaeus and Demogorgon. They do, however, all appear in the GE and the detail that Orchamus came from Lemnos is one that appears in the Spanish work but not in the Latin. Nevertheless, this is not by any means conclusive for there are great similarities between the three works, for example:

volvitur Ixion et se sequiturque fugitque.
(Metamorphoses, IV.461)
e fuye el e siguie assi mismo. (GE, II.i.228a34-5)

siguiendo a si mesmo, fuyendo de si. ("Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion, 13f)

Mena had a wide reading and ability in Latin and without further proof one cannot say that he was using GE; I hope to establish this proof in the development of this chapter.

Some of Mena's examples are inappropriate. In stanza 19 he is giving examples of those who did a lot for their lovers and includes Diana who throughout mythology is the goddess of the hunt and of chastity.[36] Nor was Leucothea a great lover (19g) for she rejected the sun; it was Clitie who faded away for love of the sun. In stanza 9 Mena mentions the union of Crocus and Salmacis. Salmacis was united with Hermaphroditus, but it is clear where the mistake arose. In both the Metamorphoses and GE immediately before the story of Hermaphroditus the two writers mention the love of Crocus and Smilax who were turned into flowers. The similarity of the names of Smilax and Salmacis probably led to the confusion of the names of Crocus and Hermaphroditus, especially as neither Ovid nor Alfonso name Hermaphroditus until the end of the story.[37] Mena also repeats himself, though apparently without realizing it: in stanza 13 he recalls the Belides in hell and in 17 speaks of the daughters of Danaus, although these are the same.

Claro escuro begins with an allusion to time:

El sol aclaraua los montes Achayos,
los valles de Creta y torres de Baco,
por nuestro emispherio tendiendo sus rayos
el viso de Venus haziendo mas flaco:
el qual reportaua fondon del sobaco
las cuerdas del carro, do manso seyendo,
por cursos medidos andaua corriendo
las doze señales del gran zodiaco.

As in "La lumbre se recogia" Venus appears in this first allusion, to set the theme of love for the poem. Some thirty-six mythological figures appear in the eight arte mayor stanzas. There are only three allusions to characters in this poem, each of them easily understood: "los tres hijos que vuo Saturno / en Opis"(11cd), "el que saco del Orco jusano / la embra Erudice con su dulçe canto" (11ef) and "ell amiga de Febo fue sepelida" (13f). The use of mythology is more skilful in this poem than in "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion" for there is a much greater link between the arte mayor and the octosyllabic stanzas. The arte mayor stanzas repeat with mythological allusions the theme of suffering that is expressed in a lyrical way in the octosyllabic stanzas. As he was born under an ill-fated sign (stanza 3) Mena speaks of the arms of mythology that are unable to help him: Pallas' shield, Mercury's cutlass, the wings of Daedalus, and the arrow of Cadmus. In stanza 5 there are those who died in the Calydonian boar hunt and at the bitter wedding feast of Perseus; even these never experienced such misfortune in love as him. The constancy in love of Argeia, Hypermestra, Penelope and Artemisia was not as great as his (7). In 9 he speaks of the monsters of mythology which are no less dreadful than his love. The passion of the gods and goddesses, Venus, the sons of Saturn and of Orpheus and Eurydice was not as great as his (11). In 13 Mena introduces two impressive mythological examples to show how he is dying of love; he compares himself to those who have been buried alive, Amphiaraus and Leucothea.

In this poem Mena rejects the influence of pagan mythology; like that of the Queen Mother in Santillana's Comedieta de Ponça, his grief, though caused by love and not by death, is the only inspiration for his poetry:

No me mueue la gran disciplina
de la poesia moderna abusiua,
ni oue beuido la nimpha diuina,
fuente de Febo muy admiratiua;
ni supe el camino por que lugar iua
la selua Helicona en el monte Parnaso;
mas causa me mueue del daño que passo
que fuerças y seso y bienes me priua. (15)

Reichenberger believes this to be an autobiographical confession (pp.409-10), but I do not think it is. Elsewhere in his poetry Mena invokes pagan deities as was the tradition of the time, and Santillana also rejected the pagans in his Defunsion and Comedieta de Ponça in order to emphasize grief.[38] Whether or not Mena was genuine, this is an interesting rejection of both the ancients and the moderns.

This poem, though lacking in variety in the usage of mythology, is full of unusual mythological figures and episodes. For example:

Nunca Laertes, ni Lelex Nericio,
Atis, Plenxipo, Emathion, Phineo,
nunca Menecio, ni Idas, ni Clicio,
Acasto, Phorbante, Jolao, Hiantheo;
nunca Ceneo, ni Leo, Cepheo,
por hecho de amores assi fenescieron,
ni vieron passados, ni viuos oyeron
hablas de tal plaga qual sobre mi veo. (5)

The majority of the characters in this poem appear in the Metamorphoses and GE. Lida de Malkiel sees the fact that nearly all the mythological figures in Claro escuro and "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion" appear in the second part of GE as almost conclusive evidence that this was the source.[39]

Thus Mena's lyrical amorous poetry in octosyllabic verse contains very little mythology. It is only when it is combined with arte mayor stanzas that a substantial amount of mythology is introduced. This style would then seem like a transition stage and as Reichenberger says these poems probably belong to his early years when Mena was still groping for a new style (p.412).

Mena's political poems are also mixed in style. There are five short poems, in praise of different people, that contain no mythological

references. The political poems are closely bound to Mena's religious views for he believes that the sickness of Spain could be cured if everyone turned to God for help; for this reason one would not expect to find many mythological examples. He is also in these poems aiming to make his views felt and understood by many people and therefore the allusions have to be kept simple. Dezir sobre la justicia e pleytos e la grant vanidad deste mundo is an attack against unscrupulous lawyers and the vanity of the world. Mena begs people to read the psalms and Solomon for a solution to these problems. On the other hand there is a complexity of mythological references in La Coronaçion, compuesta y glodada por el famoso poeta Juan de Mena, dirigida al illustre cauallero don Ynigo Lopez de Mendoça, marques de Santillana. This was written in 1438 and here a tribute to Santillana is used in order to denounce the evils of the age. The style is elaborate although the octosyllabic verse is simple. This is a much more complex poem than that of Santillana and as Lida de Malkiel says (Mena,p.104), it would be interesting to know who took the initiative in these poems. Since, however, Mena's is much more ambitious, he may have followed Santillana.

The Coronaçión is a criticism of the society of the day. All those who shirk their responsibilities, whether as kings, noblemen, heads of families or lords of their estates,are equally worthy of punishment, for they are incapable of repentance. The Bishop who does not tend his flock and the man who spends his time in frivolities are both at fault.[40] The poem begins with a periphrasis for the time of the year, which is April, a complex and impressive allusion:

> Despues quel pintor del mundo
> para nuestra vida vfana
> mostrara rostro iocundo,
> fondon del polo segundo,
> las tres caras de Diana:
> e las cunas claresciera
> donde Jupiter nasciera
> aquel hijo de Latona
> en vn chaton de la zona
> que ciñe toda la espera.

Del qual en forma de toro
eran sus puntos y gonzes,
do el copioso thesoro
crinado de febras doro
do Febo moraua entonces,
al tiempo que me hallaua
en vna selua muy braua
de bosques Thessalianos,
ignotos alos humanos,
yo que solo caminaua. (1-2)

Mena then in stanzas 6-8 describes the people he saw suffering. Some of the descriptions attached to each figure are from Mena's imagination and are to emphasize the real significance of their presence; they are symbolic of the plague of avarice and pride that raged in fifteenth-century Spanish society. In the commentary that Mena wrote to accompany his poem he explains the significance of his descriptions and we see that he disapproves of those who shirk the responsibilities that they have because of their social position, and of those who indulge in the sins of the flesh. For example Athamas (6c) and his disastrous marriage signify those who quarrel and whose evil thoughts lead them to destroy their children. Ino (6c) who disobeyed her husband represents luxuria. "E alos nietos de Cadino / hazer sus carnes pedaços, / e arder"(6d-f) signifies those who are vicious. "Y ser ardido / a Iason"(6fg) does not literally mean that Jason was burned, for these flames are the flames of luxuria, and he was seen burning because Medea took her revenge on Jason's second wife by burning her and her children in their house. Ulysses appears (6gh) because he was a flatterer. Narcissus, "hijo de Liriope" (6i) represents selfish conceit. "Acteon comer los canes / con el troyano reysmo" (7bc) is the type of person who devotes himself to hunting, leaving the state undefended. Hector "en orro mas fondo abysmo / al padre de Enastianes" (7de) appears in hell because he is not a Christian. He is the symbol of force and ability, but because he did not use to the full the gifts with which he had been endowed, his punishment is greater. Tereus (7f) is an

example of incest and Arcas Ancaeus and Idas (7g) are those who fell into sin. The avaricious appear as the Harpies and Phineus: "bañarse las tres Harpias / en la sangre de Fineo" (7ij). Ixion on his wheel (8ab) is representative of the covetous who have faith only in the world. Sinon and Menelaus do not receive a comment by Mena. What is startling in this stanza are the last two lines: "e vieras arder la mitra / del obispo Amphiarao". This Greek seer was one of the heroes of the Calydonian boar hunt and was betrayed by his wife Eriphyle in exchange for a golden necklace; here he is seen to be suffering in hell and he has been made into a Christian Bishop. Thus here again is the intermingling of pagan and Christian material, but here it is with the added thrust of a criticism of the clergy.[41] In stanza 9 appear the three judges of hell, Minos, Rhadamanthys and Aeacus. The description of the Fates in the following stanza is especially impressive:

> Item vi alas tres hijas
> dela nocturna deesa,
> los sus braços sin manijas,
> y sus dedos sin sortijas
> como fadas sobre fuessa. (10a-e)

Without their finery they epitomize even more the horror of death and emphasize that worldly wealth is useless after death. The dreadful effects of death and the subsequent tortures come to a climax with an allusion to Athamas, the last person named in hell:

> nunca vi muerte tan muerta
> ni gente tanto despierta,
> de tortores ni tan fuerte
> no fueron en dar la muerte
> al padre de Melicerta. (10f-j)[42]

As occurred in Santillana's allegories, a mythological character is given an active part in the poem. Here Tisiphone explains to Mena why the people are suffering and warns him not to be as inconstant as the "fijo de Caliope" (16j). Mena's journey in a rudderless boat out of hell has overtones of Dante's Inferno and Purgatory, as does

his arrival at the mountain which he has to climb to reach the idyllic place. The second part of the poem is introduced by another allusion to time. Here Mena uses the myth of Leucothea and Clitie and has the correct lover of the sun:

> Al tiempo surgi penoso
> que Clicie volui temprano,
> la cara contra su esposo
> que salia muy hermoso
> del hemisperio jusano. (25a-e)

Having at last reached the locus amoenus he calls out for poetic inspiration from mythological people despite his assertion in Claro escuro:

> O tu, orpheica lira,
> son de Febea vihuela,
> ven, ven, venida de vira
> y de tus cantos espira
> pues que mi seso recela:
> e alos mis sentidos cinco
> que te dan tan gran afinco,
> da tu lumbre caucasea,
> pues a la fuente pegasea
> mis registros apropinco. (31)

He adds some description to the locus amoenus: a fountain so clear that "ni fueron tales las ondas / do Salmacis se bañaua" (34ij), another reference to the Hermaphroditus myth, but without the mistake of Crocus; however, as will be seen when I come to discuss the commentary it is a mistake that Mena has clearly accepted as being fact (see above, p.177; see below, pp.191-3). Again mythological figures are allowed to govern the development of the poem for the nine Muses, whom Mena unusually lists in full, bring Santillana to his throne and crown him, the highest tribute for a poet:

> Los sus vultos virginales
> daquestas donzellas nueue,
> si mostrauan bien atales
> como flores de rosales
> mezcladas con blanca nieue:
> Vrania, Euterpe,
> Caliope, Melpomene,
> eran sus nombres sin brio
> Erato, Polymnia, Clio,
> Thalia, Terpsicore. (40)

Post (p.63) says that Mena is the first to endow the coronation with a definite literary aspect; the nine Muses are the presenters and the

four virtues crown Santillana, not as the servitor of love as occurred in Santillana's Coronaçión but as a model of literary achievement and moral excellence. The praises of the great poet are sung with no recourse to mythological allusion, but one more comparison appears before the poem ends:

> O deesa gigantea,
> ten manera como gises
> tu habla truxa manera
> segun a Dido Penea
> con aquel hijo de Anchises:
> e la tu lengua gismera
> veremos como se esmera
> con aquel viento Boreas,
> pues que te mandan que seas
> desta fiesta pregonera. (49)

In attaching the epithet Penea to Dido, Mena is clearly confusing her with Daphne; the allusion is obviously to Dido because of the reference to Aeneas and it is possible that he inserted "Penea" to rhyme with "gigantea". However, if one looks at the commentary it will be seen that the poet really did think that this epithet belonged to Dido. Here he says that the story of Zetes and Calais driving away the Harpies was retold "ala reyna Penea, si quier delos Peños, Dido llamada. Esto Vergilio testigua en el tercero libro Eneydos" (dviii^{v}). There is a twofold mistake here for the story of Dido is in the fourth book of the Aeneid and she was not called Penea; nor did the mistake arise from GE, for Alfonso neither calls Dido Penea nor acknowledges a source for this story.

Mena's Coronaçión is much more complex than Santillana's. The allegory is more developed, mythology is used for descriptive purposes much more than in Santillana and also for comparative and exemplary purposes and for the outdoing topos. It is also used to explain certain parts of the poem and for inspiration. Mythology is used as an ornamental cover for the true didactic nature of the poem.

The question of sources of Mena's mythological material in this poem is as difficult as in the other poems but this one is accompanied

by a commentary which contains detailed explanations of the myths used in the poem. In this commentary there is sufficient material for a thorough investigation on the sources to be made. Mena says in the commentary that his source is Ovid, but what version of Ovid? Mena gives allegorical and didactic explanations of the myths so that unless these morals are his own original ideas, he must have been using a moralized Ovid. Four extant versions were available to him: those of John of Garland,[43] Arnolphe d'Orléans,[44] Bersuire[45] and the Ovide moralisé.[46] There was also Alfonso el Sabio's rendering of Ovid's works in GE. Indeed, Lida de Malkiel believes that there is a strong influence of GE on Mena's earlier works; she says:

> Mena usa el texto alfonsino como un repositorio de símiles y enumeraciones, a la manera de Santillana, pero ya asoma en estos poemas y en la Coronaçión una nueva manera que culmina en la Glosa, donde los mitos están contados ampliamente, con fidelidad al argumento antiguo, aunque con libertad formal, a veces abreviados, a veces recortados en lo escabroso, manteniéndose inteligentemente el artificio de Ovidio y hermoseándose por cuenta propia, de suerte que la impresión de conjunto - a pesar de todos los préstamos señalados - difiere de la de Alfonso en soltura y riqueza ornamental. ("La GE, p.10)

Lida de Malkiel is however, concerned chiefly with verbal and even lexical detail and the influence of Alfonso on Mena has not, to my knowledge, been further studied;[47] I am therefore going to consider in some detail the way in which Mena reshaped his source material in the commentary and the nature and extent of the debt of Mena's Ovidian material to Alfonso.[48]

I am going to study the tales for which Mena says his source is Ovid, and I shall begin with the tale of Tereus and Philomela. Both Mena and Alfonso expand Ovid's version of this tale, although Mena does not add as much as Alfonso.[49] All three versions are similar in the description of the war that led to the marriage of Tereus and Procne, their five years of marriage and the birth of their son Itys. They all tell of the journey of Tereus to Pandion to ask that Philomela

may be allowed to visit her sister and the way in which Pandion has to be coaxed into agreeing that his daughter should leave him. Both Mena and Alfonso add a medieval note to this court scene: when Pandion asks Tereus to return his daughter Alfonso adds, "fizo les fazer pleyto et omenaje" (II.i.248b21), and Mena says "que gela bolviessen luego: y el le fizo dello pleyto y omenaje" (diii).[50] After the sea voyage Ovid immediately describes Tereus taking Philomela to a hut in the wood. The two Spanish versions contain a description of the horses and a comment on honour: Alfonso says that Tereus left the others:

> levando a Philomena por la rienda como por onrra, ca assi era, faziendo lo ell dotra guisa a buena entencion. (249a22-5)

Mena says that Tereus:

> tenia ya bestias mandadas aparejar en que fuessen: en las quales cavalgaron todos luego... y el tomo a Filomena por la rienda como por le fazer honrra, y es verdad que si otra maldad ende no oviera, honrra era aquello. (diii)

As Mena's description is longer than that of Alfonso this could indicate that they were using a common source or that this addition is original to Mena. The exchange of words before the violation does not appear in Ovid. Mena's version is shorter than Alfonso's but it follows the same development. When Philomela asks Tereus why he brought her to this place he replies: "quiero fazer convusco como faze varon con mugier" (249b13-14), and in Mena he says: "quiero fazer con vos como ombre con muger" (diii). All the versions agree in the distress of Philomela and the subsequent vengeance of Tereus. At this point Alfonso and Mena insert a long passage in which Tereus takes Philomela to the house of a cowherd and his wife. He tells them that Philomela is ill and asks them to take care of her, explaining that he does not want his wife to see her in this state. There is one difference here in that in Alfonso Tereus simply says that Philomela lost her tongue because of illness, whereas in Mena he adds the

explanation that it had to be cut out because of a cancer. Mena's version is more sympathetic than the earlier one, since Tereus adds that he may return for her when her tongue has healed. Then in Mena we read:

> El pastor e su muger, desque vieron compaña tan honrrada: e ala dueña tan maltrecha movidos a piedad e a complazerles dixeron que de grado lo querrían fazer. (div)

and in Alfonso:

> El pastor e su mugier, veyendo personas tan ondradas e duenna tan mal trecha, otorgaron que lo farien assi; mas con duelo del maltraymiento de la duenna que de otra guisa, ca les non descrubio que el era el rey. (251a39-b5)

Mena and Alfonso add further material in which Tereus returns to his companions and, pretending to be grief-stricken, tells them that he and Philomela were attacked by lions and that Philomela was killed and eaten. Afraid to tell his wife this he begs his companions to join with him in telling her that Philomela died at sea. Mena's description of this episode is considerably shorter, but we know that his source was much longer for he says:

> pero de como todo passo, por estenso lo relatando seria grand prolixidad: por ende abreviando dixo a los suyos que leones salieran a ellos e comieran a Filomena: y despues desto rogo a los suyos que dixesen a su muger que se les muriera e adolesciera en la mar. (div^{v}) [51]

In both Spanish versions Tereus returns to Procne and tells her that Philomela died at sea, with the subsequent distress and mourning. After the insertion of the above episodes by the Spanish writers all three versions finish the story in the same way with no significant differences. Both Mena and Alfonso say that until the point of the metamorphoses, the story of Pandion is true, and then they both give an allegorical explanation of the story. At this point the resemblance to Alfonso is less clear. Both tell of the disgusting smell of the hoopoe for:

> la habubiella faze nio de malas cosas e huele mal, que se entienda por ello aquello que el rey Thereo fizo en Philomena, su cunnada, et aquello al otrossi que comio a su fijo Ythis, que fueron malas costumbres, e que deven oler mal, e se deve despagar dellas todo buen omne. (263a26-33)

Mena's version could be a shortened version of this:

> Deste tal Tereo desia la Ovidiana fabula ser convertido en fabubilla ala semejança della: ca es una ave que fiede muy mal: assi los que no temen a cometer el tal peccado fieden muy mal assi ante dios como ante los hombres que de tal abominable pecado oyeren fablar. (dv^{v})

However, Mena's comment on the sin of incest from a Christian standpoint is not in Alfonso, nor does it appear in Arnolphe d'Orléans, John of Garland or the Ovide moralisé. Bersuire does mention incest but not in the same context as Mena. This difference could be explained by the fact that Mena's interpretations are closely linked to his purpose of including these names in the poem and they could therefore quite easily be original to Mena (see below, pp.191,193). The close similarities between Mena and Alfonso cannot be explained by the use as a common source of either John of Garland or Arnolphe d'Orléans for they are entirely different at the points discussed here.[52]

In her book on Mena, Lida de Malkiel says the additions to the story of Orpheus were original to Mena (p.132), but in "La GE", p.6, she acknowledges Alfonso to have been a source for this myth. She does not, however, study the content of the tale. Both Mena and Alfonso describe in some detail the wedding of Orpheus and Eurydice which is quickly glossed over by Ovid. Alfonso tells us here that Orpheus is a very wise philosopher; elsewhere in his work he describes his prowess as a musician, which is the point that Mena picks out here. Since this aspect of Orpheus was well known, no conclusions can be drawn from its use by Mena. Both the Spanish writers describe the god Hymen:

> ...en essas bodas fue Himeneo a quien los gentiles llamavan estonces so dios de los casamientos. (II.i.320b1-4)

> por entonces havia un dios que se llamava ymineo acerca de los gentiles: y este era dios de los casamientos. (fv^v)

They both say that Eurydice was playing with the Naiads: "las duennas naiades, a quien ellos llamavan sus deessas de las aguas," (320b10-11), and "las ninfas Nayades siquier deesas de las aguas" (fv^v). The two Spanish writers have Orpheus standing on the threshold of the underworld singing his lament before he enters, a medieval courtly gesture, as Lida de Malkiel notes. The content of Orpheus' plea to Pluto to return his wife follows the same lines in Ovid, Alfonso and Mena. A problem appears, however, when one considers the list of people who ceased their tortured tasks to listen to Orpheus. Alfonso follows Ovid, but Mena's list is different in part. He includes Tityus who, although not appearing in Orpheus' descent to the underworld in Alfonso, does appear in the description of Juno's descent (II.i.228a21). Mena also includes a description of Charon: "Otrosi el viejo Charon ceso la barca en que passavan las almas por el rio Leteo" (fvi). This addition is not explained by any of the four commentaries mentioned above, so must be original to Mena or inspired by some unknown source. The moral that Mena draws is more theological than that of Alfonso who simply says that the trees, birds and animals coming to listen to Orpheus accentuate what a great philosopher he is. Mena's idea that Orpheus is man's understanding and wisdom and Eurydice, man's flesh, is somewhat similar to the passage in Ovide moralisé in which Orpheus is understanding and Eurydice:

> Sensualité de l'ame
> e les deus choses par mariage
> sont jointes en l'umain lignage. (ed.de Boer, X.223)

But there the similarity ends. As with the Tereus myth this could be explained by the fact that the morals drawn by Mena were closely linked to the meaning of his poem.

In her book on Mena, in the chapter entitled "Prosa" Lida de

Malkiel says that in the myth of Clitie and Phoebus Mena considerably shortens Ovid's work; she does not, however, mention this story in "La GE". While it is true that this is an abbreviated version of Ovid's story there are also some significant additions. Mena gives a long family tree explaining the genealogy of Orchamus, which is not in Ovid, who simply says that he was seventh in line from Belus. Here Alfonso does not give the complete descent, saying merely:

> fue este rey Horcamo seteno del rey Belo el antigo, e sexto de Nino que fue rey de Babilonna la grant e de Assiria, fijo daquel rey Belo. (II.i.205b7-10)

Nevertheless a quick look through the rest of Alfonso's work would soon provide the other details. On the other hand Mena could have had a manual containing the origins of names, as I shall show later (see below, pp.197-8). Ovid describes Phoebus leaving his horses to pasture in the West, but both Alfonso and Mena, in true patriotic style, explain that this was Spain:

> So ell ex de Espanna son los pastos de los cavallos del Sol, e el so pasto es la yerva que dizen ambrosia, et esta los apasce e los recria los mienbros cansados del un dia. (205b16-20)

> Febo los dexasse en los suelos de Espanna que son los sus postrimeros pastos recreando sus miembros e apacentandose por aquella yerva ambrosia llamada. (hvi)

Mena differs from Alfonso and Ovid when he says that Phoebus appears to Leucothea as her "ama", since the other two say that it was as her mother. In Ovid Phoebus is then seen standing before the maiden in all his glory as god of the sun, but this is too outrageous for the Spanish writers who change him into a man. Mena simply describes him as being very handsome, Alfonso, in the careful way in which he elucidates his sources, explains the change to human form in terms of euhemerism, an attitude which, as I have shown, is to be found throughout his work:

> el Sol... tornos en su semejança qual el solie seer dantes quando estava en claridat derecha, et esto era Phebo el philosopho. (206a13-16)

There is one other significant change from Ovid when Mena and Alfonso name the flower into which Clitie was turned. They say that it was a "tornasol", thus named because this flower always faces the sun and follows it around. At the end of this story, Mena says that he is not including a moral because the characters were introduced simply to describe the season and time of day, which clarifies the point that Mena was using his morals principally in order to elucidate the theme of his poem.

Lida de Malkiel in her "Prosa" chapter says of the myth of Salmacis: "la fábula de Sálmacis es la más perfecta versión ovidiana contenida en la Glosa; sin ser simple traducción, es la más ceñida al texto" (p.134). In "La GE", p.7, she is more inclined to stress departures from the model, but this story nevertheless seems to me, in the hands of both Spanish writers, to stay comparatively close to Ovid. The description of the handsome fifteen-year-old being brought up by the Naiads, leaving home to seek pastures new and coming to the land of the Carians, is the same in all three versions. Also the same is the description of Salmacis refusing to hunt, preferring to comb her hair and admire her reflection in the water, afterwards lying down or gathering flowers. However, Alfonso and Mena add the detail that she "fazie guirlandas que se ponie en la cabesça" (II.i. 213b26-7), "fazia fermosa guirnalda con la qual cercava la su cabeça" (kvi-kvi^{v}). When she sees the young man she takes care to array herself well in all three versions but the Spanish writers add the detail that before being satisfied she looked at herself in the mirror, and they also expand Ovid's version:

> Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
> quam se conposuit, quam circumspexit amictus
> et finxit vultum et meruit formosa videri. (IV.317-19)

> e desseol aver pora si, e quisiera luego yr a el, mas non lo fizo ante ques non conpusiesse; et affeytos luego apriessa de cabesça e de cara, peynando se muy bien sus cabellos con so peyne de marfil, e affeytando otrossi la faz, et cubrios muy apuesta mientre, de guisa que merescie seer vista e tenuda por muy fermosa a qui quier que la viesse; et catos toda en su espejo, et desque vio que era pora parescer e pora yr o quier sin todo reguardo de desapostura, fuesse pora el. (213b31-214a2)

> Salmacis a Troco luego lo deseo aver, pero no le quiso fablar: antes que se afeytasse e arease, e despues que se aparo asi, fue se al su espejo que eran las claras aguas, el qual le demostro fermosa ymagen, recodida del abito de la su fermosura. (kvi^{v})

The detail of the "peyne de marfil" is used by Mena in his first description of Salmacis combing her hair: "oras peynando sus ruvios cabellos con peyne eburneo, siquier de marfil" (kvi). As Mena so often says that he wishes to keep his stories shorter than his source he would not wish to repeat such a detail. When Salmacis tells the young man that he must be Cupid, both Mena and Alfonso explain who Cupid is, using the same words, "dios de los amores", a detail unnecessary at the time that Ovid was writing. After Salmacis asks the boy to marry her, Mena and Alfonso say that he was filled with "vergüenza", for he knew nothing of love. Ovid also says that he knew nothing of love but without mention of shame. The rest of the story develops in the same way in all three versions. The prayer to the gods is increased a little in Alfonso and a little more in Mena:

> "ita di iubeatis, et istum
> nulla dies a me nec me deducat ab isto." (371-2)

> "¡O vos, dioses poderosos de todas las cosas! Pido vos yo merced que mandedes vos que nunqua aquel dia venga nin aquella hora que a mi parta deste ninno nin a el de mi." (216a19-23)

> "O vosotros dioses que sabeys los interiores secretos e sabeys de quanto amor yo amo a este moço, de lo que yo vos ruego seredes vosotros rogados e aquesto es que nunca aparteys a mi de aqueste moço ni a el de mi." (kvii^{v})

Both Mena and Alfonso give the same explanation for the name of Hermaphroditus:

> tomaron los nombres de su padre e de su madre: el de Mercurio, Hermes, et el de Venus, que era Frodos, e este nombre fue el primero que esta deessa ovo, et quiere dezir Frodos tanto como espuma, por que Venus de espuma nascio,... pero fallamos que naturales ay maestros de las naturas que al que varon e mugier nasce, quel llaman androgeno, de palavras griegas que son andros por varon e gena por mugier. (216b15-34)

> Ermas se interpreta e quiere tanto dezir como Mercurio que era padre suyo e Frodos por interpretacion quiere dezir espuma la qual se entiende por Venus su madre la qual fue fecha del espuma de la mar segun las ficciones poeticas lo quieren: e los Griegos le dizen al tal cuerpo androgenco de andros que dizen por hombre: y gena por muger: androgenco por hombre y muger. (kvii^{v}-kviii)

Mena does not give a moral to this story because he says that the myth was mentioned in the poem only to describe the clarity and cleanliness of the water.

Mena says that he took his details of the myth of Actaeon from the third book of the Metamorphoses. Alfonso in his version of the myth gives a long description of the mountain that was sacred to Diana, with details that did not come from the Ovidian original. He begins:

> en aquel mont e por esse val andava, e fascas todo lo mas dell anno, aquella donna Diana, su deessa de caça, et tanto querie ella bien aquella montanna e aquel val quel tenie cuemo appartado por suyo e como consagrado. (II.i.150b1-6)

Mena's version is shorter but has the same salient details; he reminds his reader that Diana was also goddess of chastity, a well-known fact and one that would not need a special source: "el qual monte era consagrado a Diana deesa dela castidad e dela caça" (cviii). Alfonso's description of the cave is not found in Mena, who gives fewer details of the locus amoenus and the fountain. Here Mena slightly changes the order by bringing Actaeon to the pool before describing Diana and her companions preparing to bathe. Both Alfonso and Mena explain that Actaeon came upon this pool by chance, as the result of his "fadas", that he had lost his companions, and that seeing the pool he craved for water. Mena's version is shorter than Alfonso's but what is significant is that it follows the same development and does

not appear in Ovid:

> Et mientre Diana se alli bannava, tal fue la ventura de Actheon que, pues que dexo la caça e andava ya por aquel mont a unas e a otras partes, cuemo qui anda erradio por mont que non andudiera nunqua, nil connoscie, nin fallava carrera nin la avie y, acerto a venir a aquel lugar daquella cueva e daquella fuent, et aqui diz ell autor que assil trayen las fadas e su natura. Pues que llego Acteon al arroyo que descendie daquella fuent, pagos mucho de las sombras de los arvoles et mucho dell agua que veye muy clara, e la fallava muy fria: et fue yndo por ell arroyo arriba por llegar a la fuent dont nascie e veer la con sabor que avie ende... (151b2-24)

> Anteo por el manadero delas parleras aguas que dela fuente corrian fue subiendo: segun sus fados lo levavan porque andava perdido de compaña: e cobdiciando llegar do manava la fuente, anduvo tanto fasta que llego do estava Diana con sus donzellas... (cviii^{v})

When the maidens see Actaeon Mena alone says "unas le lançavan del agua por lo cegar" (cviii^{v}). This could well be a display of poetic licence preluding the scene in which Diana herself throws water onto the young man, a scene that appears in all three versions. All three describe the maidens crowding around Diana in an effort to shield her, but not being completely successful as she stands head and shoulders above them. Ovid says that Diana turned away from Actaeon but Alfonso and Mena have Actaeon turning away, and they introduce the concept of "verg̈enza":

> e esparçio a Actheon dellas por la cara e por la cabesça, en vengança de lo que el era rafaziado en assi se parar sin toda verguença a aquella vista. (152a28-32)

> E por eso todo Anteon estovo se refazio: siquier nunca bolvio atras: e Diana con la mucha verguença que hovo dixo... (cviii^{v})

Both Mena and Alfonso find the metamorphosis of Actaeon too outrageous to describe in any detail, this being one of the few times that Alfonso abbreviates Ovid's work. There are at this point differences between the two Spanish works that could perhaps point to a common source. Alfonso says that Diana cast a spell on Actaeon so that when people saw him they thought that he was a stag, but Mena says that the

metamorphosis actually took place, although he does not dwell on the change itself. Mena also names some of the dogs that attacked Actaeon, a detail that is not in Alfonso and one that would not generally have been known. He names Melampus, Ichonobates, Pamphagus, Dorceus and Oribasus and says that there were others (di). Alfonso and Mena both tell the reader that Actaeon was the son of Queen Autonoë, and grandson of King Cadmus. As in the other two myths to which Mena appended a moral, the moral here is much shorter than in Alfonso though it follows the same general idea. As in the other myths discussed here, the differences that I have noted are not found in the medieval commentaries that I have examined.

Mena says that he took the myth of Narcissus from the third book of the Metamorphoses. He gives a much neater form to the tales of Tiresias and Narcissus, by fitting the story of the seer into that of Narcissus. Both Alfonso and Ovid introduce the story of Tiresias before mentioning Narcissus. This change could well be original to the poet, as the effect of a story within a story is impressive. The tale of the metamorphosis of Tiresias is the same in all three versions. Ovid tells his reader that Narcissus was the son of the river god Cephisus, but this is too fantastic for the Spanish writers. Mena simply states that Narcissus was the son of Liriope and Cephisus and Alfonso that his father was a powerful prince and his mother was Liriope. Both Alfonso and Ovid tell the story of Echo but Mena omits this - presumably from a wish to keep his tales as short as possible - simply stating that Echo was another admirer that Narcissus had rejected. The mention of Echo, however, does prove that the story was in his source. Both Mena and Alfonso add the goddesses to Ovid's list of the people rejected by Narcissus:

> Sic hanc, sic alias undis aut montibus ortas
> luserat hic nymphas, sic coetus ante viriles. (III.402-3)

> otras muchas mancebas, e donzellas, e duennas e aun deessas, e dellas naturales de las aguas, dellas de los montes, assi cuemo cuenta Ovidio. (II.i. 167a15-18)

> muchas dueñas y deesas, assi Driades como Enayades: e a todas desechava: siquier no se pagava dellas: e a Eco con las otras. (cvi^{v}-cvii)

Alfonso introduces a long description of the fountain that Ginzler ("The role of Ovid's Metamorphoses in GE") believes to be original. Mena in his wish to abbreviate would naturally omit this description. However, like Alfonso he does include the detail that Narcissus washed his hands in the fountain. Ovid says only that he quenched his thirst in the fountain: "e tomo della con las manos, e lavos las e troxo las por la cara" (168a14-15) Alfonso says , while Mena says: "venido a una muy clara fuente lavando sus manos en ella" (cvii). From this point the story develops in the same way in all three versions until Narcissus' death. Ovid simply says that he died and that when the Dryads went for his body it had gone and a yellow flower was growing in its place. Both Mena and Alfonso say that he went to the underworld and describe him seeing his reflection in the water of the Styx:

> Narciso pues que murio assi, segund que cuenta la Estoria, fuesse pora los infiernos, et assi como se alli maravillaron los ojos de Narciso de la forma de su sennor, e se recatava el en ella e se maravillaba della, assi diz el autor que se catava despues alla en el infierno en ell agua del arroyo a que los escriptos de los gentiles llaman Stix. (171b25-33)

> fue muerto y levado ala cibdad de Ditis en los infiernos: e alla en los infiernos esta mirandose e viendo su fermosura enlas aguas de aquella laguna Estix llamada. (cvii)

All three versions finish the tale in the same way with the yellow flower appearing where Narcissus' body had been. The same conclusions are reached concerning the interpretation as in the other myths studied.

Mena tells his reader that he used Ovid for his versions of the myths of the daughters of Danaus and of Amphiaraus. However, there are no remarkable divergences between the versions of Ovid, Alfonso

and Mena and therefore in these cases any souce could have been used. In the same way the versions of the tales of Jason and Medea and of Ixion are the same in Ovid and Alfonso and so Mena's version could have come from either.

I shall now consider some other tales that could possibly have come from Alfonso but for which Mena does not acknowledge Ovid as the source. It will be seen that in these cases although the stories appear in Alfonso there are some striking differences between the two works. The story of Pentheus is the same in all three versions but the morals drawn by Alfonso and Mena are totally opposed. Mena sees Pentheus as a man who despises God, while Alfonso says he is a religious man abstaining from drink. The story of Phineus is not described in detail by Ovid, so that neither Mena nor Alfonso could have used this as a source. The two Spanish versions could not have come from a common source as the differences between the two are great. Alfonso says that Phineus' second wife tried to turn Phineus against his sons by telling him that they were trying to take his kingdom from him. When Phineus refused to believe this she told him that they had tried to rape her and had threatened to kill their father. With this he is convinced of their treachery and blinds them. Mena, however, says that the stepmother tried to seduce the sons. They told their father and when he approached his wife about it she denied it saying that they had tried to rape her. Phineus believed his wife and castrated his sons. Mena mentions Virgil as his source for this but Alfonso does not commit himself. There are many differences between the two Spanish versions of the story of Dido and Aeneas. Here again, Mena says that his source is Virgil. It seems therefore that only when Mena actually says that he is drawing on Ovid is the true source likely to be Alfonso, and that Mena certainly did not use GE as a definitive source of classical mythology. For this reason although

the explanations of the origin of the god Phoebus and the etymological explanations of the names of the three Eumenides are the same in Alfonso and Mena I hesitate to offer Alfonso as the source. Added to this there are other etymological details such as those of Diana, Orchamus and the Muses which are not to be found in GE. It is probable therefore that Mena had a particular manual for the origins of names.

There is one instance, however, when Mena does not acknowledge a source but when he seems to have used Alfonso. This is when he gives biographical details of Ovid. Alfonso writes:

> Ovidio... fue uno de los mas presciados tribunos de Roma, et era tribuno, assi como lo avemos departido en otros logares, del que avie treynta cavalleros e era cabdiello e sennor dellos: et versifico esse Ovidio mejor que otro sabio ninguno de la su sazon, como diremos del en la estoria del so tiempo, que sera en el tiempo de Octoviano Cesar Augusto, ca estonces nascio Ovidio e en tiempo de Tiberio Cesar murio. (II.i.53b1-11)

At other points in his work he names the following works of Ovid: the Fasti, Heroides, Arte amandi, De remedio amoris and the Metamorphoses. Mena speaks thus of Ovid:

> Este fue Ovidio Publio Naso: el qual fue tribuno de Roma en tiempo de Tiberio Cesar: e fizo estos quinze libros del volumine intitulado methamorfoseos: e fizo otrosi el libro arte amandi: e otro libro de remedio amoris: e otro libro de vetula:[53] e otro libro de faustis: e otro libro de ponto: e otro de sine titulo: otro que es intitulado Ovidius epistolarus: e otros dize que el fizo: pero yo no los he visto. (lv)

Ginzler says that Alfonso did not get the detail that Ovid was a tribune at the time of Tiberius Caesar from Eusebius, whom he was using for his other biographical information. Nor, he says, is there any evidence that Alfonso got it from an accessus as there did not seem to be any in the manuscripts that he was using (p.5). Fausto Ghisalberti, however, says that the references to Ovid as tribune of Rome come from Arnolphe d'Orléans who in turn gets it from an unknown source.[54] As it has become clear from my study that Mena did not use

Arnolphe d'Orléans for his Ovidian stories it is unlikely that he would have used it for this one detail and I therefore suggest that this information also comes from Alfonso.

There is, as we have seen, substantial evidence for Lida de Malkiel's thoery that Alfonso was the source of some Ovidian material in the Coronación commentary; the Alfonsine debt seems, indeed, to go beyond that suggested by her. Such evidence should not be rejected because of the supposed improbability of Mena's using such a source. It seems from the extant manuscripts of the GE that its popularity grew in the fifteenth century. Of the twenty-nine dated GE manuscripts listed in the most recent work of reference,[55] eleven are pre-fifteenth century, two are of the fourteenth or fifteenth, and sixteen are of the fifteenth century. The library of Isabel la Católica contained no fewer than six manuscripts of this work.[56] Alfonso's other historical work, the Estoria de España, was regarded as a standard authority throughout the fifteenth century; its conceptual scheme of Spanish history has been shown to survive in poets from Villasandino to Juan de Padilla;[57] and the history published by Florián de Ocampo in 1541 (and reprinted as late as 1604) is a version of this same Alfonsine Estoria. It has, moreover, been shown that Mena followed another thirteenth-century work, Juan Gil de Zamora's De preconiis Hispaniae (c.1288) in his assertion that Aristotle was a Spaniard.[58] Traces of a possible debt to GE have been found in the works of Santillana, as I have shown;[59] Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's Bursario, a version of Ovid's Heroides, owes something to the GE version of the same work;[60] and it has been argued that Fernão Lopes, a contemporary of Mena, remarkable for the modernity of his historiographic technique, took Heroides material from GE and from the Estoria de España.[61]

It is evident from this study that the majority of the changes that Mena made to his Ovidian material are too closely linked to Alfonso's material for them to have been the original ideas of the

poet. It is clear from his own statements that his source was much longer than Ovid's text, for although he himself elaborates on Ovid's material he repeatedly says that he is abbreviating his source. The resemblances, both factual and verbal, between Mena's versions of the tales from the Metamorphoses in the Coronaçión commentary and those of Alfonso are too great to be merely coincidental. These similarities, however, appear only in the tales for which Mena says his source is Ovid. There are, on the other hand, differences between the two Spanish works which could lead one to believe that there was a common source. Nevertheless, these differences cannot be accounted for by recourse to the Ovidian commentaries that Alfonso is thought to have used. This therefore leads me to reaffirm the conclusion that Alfonso was the source of Mena's Ovidian material in the commentary and thus probably the source for the mythological material in his poetry. Some explanation should, however, be found for the relatively few divergences between the two works. This is not difficult. A few minor alterations must be expected as this is not a translation by Mena. Although Mena's interpretations of the mythological tales do not follow Alfonso's exactly, the same ideas are expressed. Mena states that his morals are closely linked to his purpose in writing the poem: thus he introduces a moral only if to do so would elaborate and elucidate the theme of his poem, which makes it likely that he devised them himself. This being the case I would suggest that the interpretations, though based on Alfonso's, are largely the original contribution of
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Mena. The divergences of the cancer of the tongue of Philomela, the addition of Tityus and Charon stopping to listen to Orpheus, and the nymphs throwing water on Actaeon in an effort to blind him may well have been original to Mena and the result of poetic imagination. The change of Phoebus appearing to Leucothea as her "ama" and the naming of the dogs that ate Actaeon are more difficult to explain. But whatever the explanation for these two points, the weight of evidence

in favour of Mena using Alfonso for his Ovidian material in the Coronación commentary is too great to be disregarded because of these comparatively minor points. It is possible that Mena's interest in Alfonso could be partly explained by the fact that he, like his predecessor, wished to raise Spanish to the dignity of Latin. I have dealt at length with the commentary because the mythological material it contains is sufficiently detailed for a thorough study to be made on the sources. As it seems conclusive that Mena used GE to a large extent in his commentary, it follows that GE was probably the source for the majority of the mythological references in his poetry.

The Coronación seems to be a preliminary to Mena's principal poem, the Laberinto de Fortuna. This was completed and presented to Juan II in 1444. This is the culmination of Mena's belief that Spanish could attain the same status as Latin. There is a twofold structure to the poem. The main structure clearly depends on the three wheels of Fortune, representing the past, present and future and the vicissitudes of Fortune, and on the seven spheres of the sun, moon and planets under which the characters of the poem are arranged in order. The underlying structure is of a political nature and is aimed at winning support for Alvaro de Luna and persuading the king to support him. There are two opposing groups: (the one containing Fortune, the great nobles, civil war, sin, black magic and other evils and the other containing Divine Providence, Luna, the reconquest, fame, Mena's poetry and, it is hoped, Juan II. D. C. Clarke sees the poem, and she is clearly right, as being based metaphorically on the classical myth of Daedalus and the Minotaur.[63] Mena is metaphorically describing not only Fortune's dwelling and her unpredictable ways but also the style and plan of the poem, which is intricate and involved like the labyrinth.[64] This is therefore an extremely complicated poem. It is latinized in vocabulary and syntax; the poem was probably written to exclude the uncultured

and to appeal principally to the person at whom it was aimed; it had, thus, to be fitting for him who was also a poet. There is much influence of Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, Statius, Homer, Aristotle's Poetics and Dante.[65] The use of mythology in this poem closely underlines the true purpose of the poem, and is well integrated into the poem as a whole. Of over ninety mythological characters mentioned, only twenty-six appear after the beginning of the circle of Mars and of these five appear in the conjuration of the witch. This is because Mena is using classical examples to set the scene, and having done this he comes to the real purpose of the poem, to win Juan to his side and to see Spain glorious. The circle of Mars occupies twenty-five per cent of the whole work and this is significant as Mena is attempting to incite Juan to support Luna against the nobles and to fight for the supremacy of the throne. The examples under Mars and Jupiter are historical in order to reveal Spain's glory. Post says that under Mars Dante admits only warriors and martyrs of God, but Mena makes no reference to religious warfare except against the Moors and includes in heaven all those who fight for just causes and patriots who die for their country, and in hell those who fight for unjust causes ("Sources", p.244). Mena then progresses to the digression on the Conde de Niebla, Alvaro de Luna, the conjuration of the witch, the history of the Spanish Kings and wars and moralizing against cupidity. As is customary when concerned primarily with church matters Mena seldom uses mythological examples, and he carries this forward into his characterization of Providence, for she speaks of mythological characters only twice: among the examples of loyalty she includes Evander who sent his son Pallas to help Aeneas against Turnus and in doing so lost his son in the first part of the battle: "Evandro a su padre, su fijo a Palante, / al qual el comiençó fué fin enemigo "(197cd). Later, in order to emphasize how great Juan

will be she says that he will overshadow all his predecessors and one of the examples she gives is that of Geryon: "será Gerión con los olvidados" (272a). The relics of Troy and the companions of Aeneas that she mentions in 166 are in reported speech and are the words of the sailor.

The majority of the mythological references appear as exempla under the different planets. Often there are one or two lines to describe a character, as occurred in Claro escuro and "Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion". There are also many impressive periphrases here, for example, under the moon there is the:

> fijo de aquel que sobró,
> por arte mañosa más que por estinto,
> los muchos reveses del grand laberinto,
> e al Minotauro a la fin acabó. (63a-d)

Under Venus the sinful lovers are skilfully alluded to:

> Vimos en uno vilmente abraçados
> la conpañera de aquel grand Atrides,
> duque de todas las greçianas lides,
> tomar con Egisto solaços furtados;
> e vimos a Mirra con los derribados,
> ermana ya fecha de quien era madre,
> e madre del fijo de su mesmo padre,
> en contra de leyes umanas e grados. (102)

Similarly in 103 there is a skilful allusion to the story of Tereus, Philomela and Procne:

> Allí era aquél que la casta cuñada
> fizo por fuerça non ser más donzella,
> comiendo su fijo en pago de aquella
> que por dos maneras dél fué desflorada.

On the other hand there are also some straightforward allusions, for example, "fijo de Anchises" (28c). The characters used for exemplary purposes always pertain to the circle under which they are found; quite often there are some short but pithy descriptions to accompany the figures and some impressive allusions are made. The chaste are found under the moon: Hippolytus (63a-d), Penelope (64h), Hypermestra (63e-h) and Hercules:

> Tanbién en la rueda vimos sublimada
> llena de muertos muchos Argía,
> e vi que la parte derecha tenía
> Alçides[66] casi del todo ocupada,
> a fuer de montero, con maça clavada,
> bien como quando librava en el siglo
> los calidones del bravo vestiglo,
> e la real mesa de ser ensuziada. (65)

On the surface it seems odd that Hercules has been included with the chaste as his death was even caused through the jealousy of his second wife. However, his first marriage with Megaera was not a popular part of the story of Hercules in the Middle Ages, and nor was the episode with the fifty daughters of Thespius, all of whom he enjoyed while a guest of their father. Hercules was, as I have said (see above, pp.14-15) looked upon favourably by the medieval Spaniards as a means of elevating their noble ancestry; he was active in ridding the world of monsters and tyrants - a doer of great deeds - and it is clearly in this light that Mena is presenting Hercules. He is the great man of antiquity, who occupies half of the wheel and it is he and the others under the circle of the moon whom Alvaro must seek to equal. Neither of the two deeds here attributed to Hercules were accomplished by him, although Santillana too says that he drove away the Harpies from Phineus (see above, pp.166,169). Mena's commentary, however, reveals that he, at least, was not attributing these tasks to Hercules through ignorance. Having said that the Harpies were driven away by Zetes and Calais he adds:

> aunque el honor de la victoria quieren los poetas fuesse atribuydo a Hercules, assi como de la muerte del puerco Calydonio, puesto que el no lo fizo. (dvii^{v})

Lida de Malkiel ("La GE", p.10) says that Mena's confused mythological names and errors are not through ignorance nor laziness "sino porque tratándose de la Antigüedad, no le interesaba la exactitud objectiva, sino la evocación más grata a su fantasía". Under Mercury are to be found the wise, Nestor (86a), Latinus (86bc), Priam (86c) and Capis (86e-h). Underneath these are those who broke the peace and

corrupted virtue for gain. Here are figures from the Iliad and the Aeneid:

> Pues vimos a Pandaro, el dardo sangriento,
> ermano de aquel buen archero de Roma,
> que por Menesteo la libre paloma
> firió donde iba volando en el viento,
> aquél que los nervios assió del amiento
> e contra las dóricas gentes se ensaña,
> que toda la tregua firmada les daña,
> dándoles canpo de pazes esento.
>
> Allí te fallamos, o Polinestor,
> como truçidas al buen Polidoro,
> con fanbre maldita de su grand tesoro,
> non te menbrando de fe, nin de amor;
> yaçes açerca, tú, vil Antenor,
> triste comienço de los padüanos:
> allí tú le davas Eneas las manos,
> aunque Virgilio te da más onor. (88-9)

This last statement would lead one to suppose that Mena was not using Virgil although he clearly knew his works, for the portrayal of Aeneas as a traitor, freed with Antenor for having handed Troy over to the Greeks, appears in the works of Dictys and Dares. However, it is in keeping with the themes of the poem to decry disloyalty and treachery and to show respect for, and obedience to, the King. As the final mythological allusion under Mercury there is the example of the treachery of Eriphyle to her husband Amphiaraus:

> Estavas, Isífle, allí vergoñosa
> vendiendo la vida de tu buen marido:
> de ricos collares tu seso vençido,
> quisiste ser viuda mas non deseosa. (90a-d)

In contrast to his appearance in the Coronaçión Amphiaraus is here the one who has been ill-treated. Under Venus appear the sinful lovers, each one being given four lines of description, Clytemnestra (102a-d), Myrrha (102e-h), Tereus (103a-d), Canace and Macareus (103e-h), Ixion (104a-d) and Pasiphae (104e-h). Under Phoebus are the learned, the philosophers, orators, musicians, astrologers and poets. Here are Phyliris, tutor to Achilles (120e-h), and the Sibyls (121-2). Underneath are the witches including Medea (130e-h).

Mythology is used for the outdoing topos and for comparative purposes; for example, the powers of Juan II are compared to those of the omnipotent Jupiter:

> Al muy prepotente don Juan el segundo,
> aquél con quien Júpiter tovo tal çelo,
> que tanta de parte le fizo del mundo
> quanta a sí mesmo se fizo en el çielo. (1a-d)

Doña María, wife of Alfonso of Naples and one of the examples of chastity, is called "nueva Penélope" (78f). In 197a-d, Pedro de Narváez, rather than flee before the enemy, died as his father would have done, like Evander and his son Pallas; he knew where his duty lay. At the beginning of his poem Mena queries the perpetual quality of his work for he asks how, if the walls that Phoebus built could be overturned, could he construct something indestructible?:

> E si los muros que Febo ha travado
> argólica fuerça pudo subverter,
> ¿qué fábrica pueden mis manos fazer
> que non faga curso segund lo passado? (5e-h)

The master of the labyrinth is used to bring added lustre to the throne of Juan: "y él en una silla tan rica labrada / como si Dédalo bien la fiziera" (142gh).

The classical conception of hell occurs in this poem in the witch's conjuration to Pluto. Hades is presided over by Pluto and Proserpine (247), Cerberus and Charon are asked to allow the souls to leave the underworld (248a-d) and Hecate is threatened if she does not obey (250c-h), and she concludes:

> "¿E sabes tú, triste Plutón, que faré?
> abriré las bocas por do te goviernas,
> e con mis palabras tus fondas cavernas
> de luz supitánea te las feriré.
> Obedeçedme, sinon llamaré
> a Demogorgón, el qual invocado
> treme la tierra, ca tiene tal fado,
> que a las Estigias non mantiene fe." (251)

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Mena is probably using Lucan's Pharsalia for this episode. Post acknowledges a similar episode in Dante's Inferno when Virgil abuses Pluto, Proserpine, Cerberus and Charon but says this could not be the

source as the circumstances are different and there is no verbal approximation ("Sources", p.247).

Unlike Mena's other classically-influenced poems, the Laberinto does not begin with a mythological allusion to time, as the beginning is used to praise the King, but nevertheless a mythological allusion is, as I have shown, used in stanza 1. Time is alluded to in this poem in the customary manner but not until well into the poem; this is a typical example:

> El lúçido Febo ya nos demostrava
> el don que non pudo negar a Fetonte:
> subiendo la falda del nuestro orizonte,
> del todo la fosca tiniebla privava. (268a-d)

There are two allusions to contemporary life with the use of mythology, though none of the anachronistic material found in earlier writers. Mena says that there may be other Eriphyles willing to betray their husbands:

> ¡O siglo nuestro! ¡Edad trabajosa!
> ¿Si fallarían los que te buscassen
> otras Isífles que deseassen
> dar sus maridos por tan poca cosa? (90e-h)

He asks the King that:

> la mucha clemençia, la ley mucho blanda
> del vuestro tienpo non cause maliçias
> de nuevas Medeas o nuevas Publiçias;
> baste la otra miseria que anda. (135e-h)

There is no attempt to Christianize myth as occurred in the thirteenth-century writers, but there is here as in "Guay del hombre" the appearance of Diana with the palm, in a description of María , wife of Juan:

> vençíase della su ropa en albura;
> el ramo de palma su mano sostiene,
> don que Diana por más rico tiene,
> más mesurada que toda mesura. (72e-h)

This praise of María is ironic when one considers that it was she who brought about Luna's downfall - a symbol of victory and strength indeed, but not in the way that Mena wished it.

Mena's greatest digression from the point of his poem, is his vision of the world. This contains some mythology and offers an interesting comparison with the thirteenth-century Semeiança. Lida de Malkiel (Mena, pp.30-47) says that the source of this episode is the Imago Mundi, which was also used by the writer of the Semeiança. Both the Spanish works speak of the foundation of Phoenicia, by Phoenix the man or the bird, of the Amazons, Europa, Epirus and the fountain that will rekindle brands that are put into it, the fact that Italy was once called Saturnia, the Troglodites, Oceanus, the Gorgons and Medusa. Mena elaborates much less than does the author of the Semeiança, though one would expect this as it is only a fifteenth part of the work for Mena. The structure of the Laberinto is much more developed than in the Semeiança, depending on the division of the world into four parts. Although the Semeiança uses two sources almost equally, the writer does not introduce original material as does Mena. For example in his description of Typhoeus and Etna he says: "el Etneo, / donde los fuegos insulfa Tifeo, / formando gemidos e bozes dispares" (53f-h). Mena also introduces the euhemeristic version of the rape of Europa, which Lida de Malkiel (Mena, pp.35-6) says is taken from Eusebius' Canon Chronicus; but it is also to be noted that this is in GE (II.i.53b25-54b6), one of whose sources was Eusebius:

> E vimos aquella que Europa dixeron,
> de la que robada en la taurina fusta
> lançó los ermanos por causa tan justa
> en la demanda que fin non pusieron. (42a-d)

Mena does simplify the enumeration to be found in the thirteenth-century work, although it is true that this is more a catalogue of names than any other part of his work. In the same way there is very little descriptive material in the Semeiança except for the story of the catastrophe of Phaethon.

As in other poems Mena calls on the pagan deities for help in

his task. In 2h he asks Apollo to put an end to his digression on the past and to help him concentrate on the present. Then he calls on Calliope for help:

> Tú, Calíope, me sey favorable,
> dándome alas de don virtusoso,
> porque discurra por donde non oso. (3a-c)

And again in stanza 6 he says:

> Ya pues derrama de tus nuevas fuentes
> pierio subsidio, inmortal Apolo,
> espira en mi boca porque pueda sólo
> virtudes e viçios narrar de potentes.
> A estos mis dichos mostradvos presentes,
> fijas de Tespis, con vuestro tesoro;
> con armonía de aquel dulçe coro
> suplid cobdiçiando mis inconvenientes.

In 32e-h Mena turns to Apollo for help again and in 141 turns to Mars to help him recount the wars of Castile, and then to Pallas:

> dame tú, Palas, favor ministrante:
> a lo que se sigue depara tal orden,
> que los mis metros al fecho concorden,
> e goze verdad de memoria durante.

Despite this proliferation of appeals to pagan deities for help in stanza 28 Mena expresses, in the words of Providence, the view that such help is not needed by those who are constant in adversity; such an attitude to the conventional invocation has been seen in his earlier poems and will be seen even more explicitly in Coplas contra los pecados mortales:

> "Angélica imagen, pues tienes poder,
> dame tal ramo por donde me avises,
> qual dió la Cumea al fijo de Anchises
> quando al Erebo tentó deçender",
> le dixe, y yo luego le oí responder:
> "Quien fuere costante al tienpo adversario,
> e más non buscare de lo neçesario,
> ramo ninguno no avrá menester."

There is a vast and skilful use of mythology in this poem, though the majority of it is placed in the first half, the second being reserved for establishing and developing the true purpose of the poem. Mythology is used, in the majority of cases, for exemplary purposes, but it is also used for comparisons and for the traditional invocation.

Time is alluded to with mythological examples and there is a major digression on a vision of the world which reveals Mena's euhemeristic attitude to mythology. He develops more fully than Santillana the use of description with each character, therefore making the endless examples more interesting for the reader.

After the fall of Alvaro de Luna and the death of Juan II, Mena became very disillusioned, with his personal and political hopes in ruins, and this feeling is reflected in his poetry. The Razonamiento que faze Johan de Mena con la Muerte is full of pessimism. Death destroys all, even the most influential, he tells us, and he lists people from different estates who have been overcome by death and explains how they have all become equal. Most of the poem is conventional ubi sunt? There are examples of great men, and biblical and classical examples rub shoulders with mythological ones in about the same numbers. The mythological examples are all conquerors or traditionally strong men, and they are all common examples, for which no particular source need be sought: Geryon, Hercules, Jason (9), Antaeus, Hector, Apollo, Theseus, Hercules the giant (10), Priam, Laomedon, Menalaus and Agamemnon (12).

The Coplas contra los pecados mortales, again reveals disillusionment and asceticism. The style is simplified, so that the religious and moral message, intended for all, may be understood by all. In the 263 stanzas only 15 mythological allusions are made. This is because the purpose of the poem is didactic and religious, and most of the examples are biblical , with just a few historical and mythological ones. Mythology is used for descriptive purposes: the face of sloth is a deformed Chimaera (27b), avarice is a Harpy (74c), and anger's arms are as strong as if they were made by Vulcan (98d). Gómez Manrique in his continuation of the poem says that the music of Orpheus did not make him perfect; only virtue could do that (151). Mena, by referring

to his own attitude towards the figures of the past, criticizes the present:

De fuerte alabo a Tydeo,
a Lucrecia de muy casta;
alos biuos no me basta,
que alos muertos lisongeo;
digo males de Tereo,
a Egisto reprehendo,
mis grandes vicios defiendo
y los agenos afeo.

A Dido con otras gentes
enfamo muchas vegadas;
loo mas alas pasadas
por que yerren los presentes;
tiro los inconuenientes
con exemplos de maldades;
las honestas voluntades
de sanas fago dolientes. (8-9)

The deep despair that Mena feels about life at this time is reflected very clearly in this poem. He rejects his lifelong interest in classical mythology realizing that the beautiful exterior, the corteza of mythological allusions, is not what is important in the last analysis, for it is the meollo that God will judge. He begins his poem by Christianizing the Muse:

Canta tu, christiana musa,
la mas que ciuil batalla
que entre voluntad se falla
y razon que nos acusa;
tu, gracia de dios infusa,
recuenta de tal vitoria
quien deue leuar la gloria,
pues que el canpo no se escusa.

He then openly rejects the influence of mythology:

Fuyd o callad, serenas,
que enla mi hedad pasada,
tal dulçura enponçoñada
derramastes por mis venas;
Mis entrañas, que eran llenas
de peruerso fundamento,
quiera el diuinal aliento
de malas fazer ya buenas.(2)

He goes on in the same vein:

No se gaste mas pauilo
en saber quien fue Pegaso,
las dos cumbres de Pernaso,
los syete braços de Nilo;
pues nos llagamos al filo

y sabemos que de nos
juzgando rescibe Dios
mas la obra quel estilo. (7)

and he continues:

Vsemos delos poemas
tomando dellos lo bueno,
mas fuyan de nuestro seno
las sus fabulosas temas;
sus ficiones y poemas
desechemos como espinas;
por auer las cosas dignas
rompamos todas sus nemas. (14)

Dela esclaua Poesia
lo superfluo asy tirado,
lo dañoso desechado,
syguire su compañia;
ala catholica via
reduziendo la por modo,
que valga mas que su todo
la parte que fago mia. (16)

Thus in this, the last of his poems, Mena states that all his inspiration should come from God, for God, and at the end of his life professes to the world that, despite the truly mythological nature of his poetry, his Catholic faith is as strong as ever.

Both Mena and Santillana were early questioners in the conflict concerning attitudes towards pagan material. Gómez Manrique, who finished Mena's Coplas contra los pecados mortales also rejects the influence of pagan figures relying on divine grace for inspiration:

Para lo qual no inuoco
las sciencias acostumbradas,
ni las musas inuocadas
por los poetas reuoco;
tan solamente prouoco
la santa gracia diuina
que mi obra faga digna,
pues que mi saber es poco. (110)

But perhaps the most famous of the fifteenth-century dissenters on this question was Jorge Manrique, who, in Coplas por la muerte de su padre, rejects the immortal orators of old for he says fiction entices and deceives:

Dexo las inuocaçiones
de los famosos poetas
y oradores;
no curo de sus ficciones,
que traen yeruas secretas
sus sabores.
Aquel solo me encomiendo,
aquel solo inuoco yo
de verdad,
que en este mundo biuiendo,
el mundo no conosçió
su deidad. (4)[68]

However, as Otis H. Green points out, this dissent against mythology is generally expressed at the end of a writer's life.[69] It is certainly true that Mena's rejection of what has for him formed a large part of his poetry, came after the collapse of all his dreams. In the case of Santillana the rejection seems to be little more than an obligatory topos which is used to bring emphasis to the greatness of a certain person, rather than as a rejection of mythology. Traces of this attitude can be found in other writers. Fernando de Rojas makes Sempronio criticize Calisto for alluding to dusk by speaking of the time when Phoebus put his horses to pasture (II,21.21-22.2).[70] It is true that this is a personal attack by Sempronio on Calisto's adorned speech, but it has overtones of a general attack on the excessive use of mythology in those times. In Grisel y Mirabella Torrellas states that the praises of Lucrecia and Atalanta are not true, that he cannot judge the virtues of the past for he has not experienced them (see below, p.220). This is not such a vehement rejection of paganism as the other writers express, but nevertheless it has tendencies in the same direction.

Mena uses well over two hundred different mythological figures. The most popular were the deities, Apollo, Diana, Jupiter, Phoebus, Pluto and Venus, but these were closely followed by Aeneas and Ulysses and their adventures. Mena's favourite use for mythology is for exemplary purposes; this use appears some eighty times with around

seventy different people mentioned. Mena's use of mythology for comparison comes a close second and about the same number of different figures are used. There are over sixty examples of periphrasis, many of them skilfully achieved. There are some twenty invocations to pagan deities, though Mena's deep faith in the Catholic Church is revealed at the end of his life. He uses mythological characters to govern the structure and development of certain poems, as does Santillana. There are eleven allusions to the time, Phoebus being the most popular figure to appear in these allusions. Mena adds much more detail to the characters than does Santillana, thus giving more interest to his work and making an attempt at using mythology for its own sake and for aesthetic purposes. Indeed Mena does sometimes use mythological allusions solely to ornament his work and not for any didactic intent. As in Santillana the vast majority of mythological references occur in the arte mayor stanzas with the notable exception of the Coronación; poems with a primarily religious outlook do not generally contain any pagan references. The extent to which mythology has become part of the literature of the Middle Ages is seen in such statements as "Diana de las Palmas" and "christiana musa".

Mena clearly had a much deeper knowledge of mythology than did Santillana, and this he integrated well into his poems. Although there is much description in his poems, I feel that there is still insufficient for one to be able to state categorically that he used one or another source. His wide range of mythological figures is to be found in an assortment of classical works and in medieval reworkings of the tales of the ancient writers. However, from studies that I and others have carried out on the commentary to the Coronación it would seem that here he was using GE for material that he said came from Ovid. It would seem possible therefore that he culled all his knowledge of mythology from this one work (it would certainly have made life simpler for him);

but in the commentary he makes the reader aware that he knows the extent to which later writers have altered the classical renderings of the tales and it would therefore seem probable that he did know the original works.

Thus, there has been much development in the treatment and transmission of mythological material between the thirteenth and fifteenth-century poets. The early poets, though to some degree trying to produce original works, were hampered by their reliance on a definite source and their originality depended largely on adding medieval and Christian details to certain aspects. The later poets were not constrained in this way. They used classical material to enhance their works and even introduced pagan heroes and deities as their protagonists who direct the development of the poem. Mena and Santillana both display a wide knowledge of mythological material and many of the figures they use are from the lesser-known and less popular myths. Trojan War figures no longer consist just of well-known characters like Priam, Hector and Paris but include the minor heroes of the battle. The Theban War became a popular subject for both Mena and Santillana. Neither of them had any reservations about using the less desirable mythological figures for examples like those involved in incest , for no longer did the presence of mythological material have to be accounted for with moral statements. Thus the Christianization of such material for a didactic purpose as in the thirteenth century was unnecessary. There is still in the fifteenth century the mixing of pagan and biblical material and also some medievalization of the figures but to a much lesser degree than occurred earlier. Now mythology can stand in its own right; it can be used for purely aesthetic purposes, as adornment for the poem. Clearly the fifteenth-century writers learned from their predecessors and adopted many of the traditional

attitudes to their mythological material; they may even have been using a thirteenth-century chronicle for much of their knowledge of the ancient tales, but in their use of mythology for aesthetic purposes they look forward to the sixteenth century; the fifteenth-century writers therefore, seem to be the transition stage between the Middle Ages and the Golden Age.

Embajada a Tamorlán

In fifteenth-century prose, as well as in verse, we find a more extensive and varied use of mythology than in the previous centuries. Let us begin with Embajada a Tamorlán, by Ruy González de Clavijo. In 1403 Enrique III decided to send an embassy to the Mongol emperor, in an endeavour to make an alliance, for the whole of Europe was threatened by the Turks, and there was a widespread hope that the Mongols might be persuaded to attack the Turks from the rear. Clavijo was entrusted with this embassy; the journey to Samarkand and back took three years and Clavijo wrote a full and lively account of the journey including vivid descriptions of the East and its customs. Throughout the work there is a scrupulous regard for factual accuracy, and for this reason when Clavijo comes to speak of mythology there is a tendency to relate it as historical fact. In passing the island of Cythera he recalls the story of Paris abducting Helen from there, and then destroying the temple.[71] He says that he passed the ruined city of Troy and recalls how Priam built a great castle there that was destroyed: "e de ally paresçieron los edifiçios dela dicha troya, e pedaços del muro aportallados... e pedaços de torres enfiestos" (p.29).[72] However there is no great emotion and only slight interest: "e algunos delos omnes delos enbaxadores fueron ala dicha ysla por la ver e andudieron por ella" (p.30). Clavijo then does something that had probably not been attempted before, when he links the classical story of the fall of Troy to later historical fact. He thus skilfully develops the ancient tale

and brings it to a modern conclusion, showing how the tale was again acted out in modern times. He says that Troy was not repopulated because the Emperor of Constantinople promised it to the Genoese for making him some warships and then gave it to the Venetians. These two people quarrelled over it, and peace was made only when the Venetians agreed to its being completely destroyed (p.30). Clavijo again mentions Troy while passing along the Turkish coast. He sees the place where the Greeks had their headquarters and court when going to attack the Trojans. He describes in detail, thus bringing the episode to life, how the Greeks dug great trenches in front of the eastle so that the Trojans could not reach them, and says that Troy stretched for sixty miles from Sancta María to the houses of Dirbeque (p.32).

When speaking of the Amazons he again shows interest in developing fact from fiction. He says that they are eleven days' journey from Samarkand and travelling in the direction of China, when he passes the land of the Amazons (p.212). Even today, he says, these women have men with them only at certain times of the year, when the eldest gives all permission to seek out the man by whom they wish to have a baby. They keep the girls themselves and send the boys to their fathers. He adds that they are Christians in the Greek faith and are descendants of the Amazons who were in Troy when it was destroyed. He goes further, saying that there were two groups of Amazons in Troy and that one went to Turkey while the other became the ancestors of these people.[73] This is an interesting and unusual attitude towards mythology, one of an historian trying to establish the facts and unify past and present thinking. There are no other references to mythology in this work though there are many descriptions of oriental legends and folk motifs.

As in the Semeiança mythology in the Embajada a Tamorlán is used to a large extent to amplify the account of a particular place.

Both writers try to rationalize the mythological material to some extent and reveal a euhemeristic attitude. The earlier writer brings Christianizing and medieval elements into his work in common with other writers of the time. Clavijo, on the other hand, introduces an innovation into the treatment of mythological material when he projects it forward into his own time.

Diego de San Pedro

Diego de San Pedro's first sentimental romance is Tractado de amores de Arnalte e Lucenda.[74] In this Arnalte tells San Pedro the story of his love: Elierso, his friend, had been acting as his go-between but had then married the girl that Arnalte loved. Arnalte killed him in a duel and Lucenda retired to a convent. There is only one mythological reference in this work. The birthplace of Arnalte is mentioned as being Thebes and San Pedro adds the detail that Thebes was founded by Cadmus, son of Agenor (I,p.101). This detail was probably included to reveal San Pedro's erudition but this style was not to continue. Nor are constant references to mythology to be found in Cárcel de Amor.

San Pedro's second work, written circa 1492, reveals a greater structural mastery than his earlier work, though the two have their basic pattern in common. El Autor brings Leriano and the princess Larueola together, but a rival accuses the lovers of an illicit affair. The King, under the ley de Escocia, condemns his daughter to death. After a battle with Laureola's guards Leriano frees his lady and the traitors confess their false accusation to the King. With this all is forgiven but the two lovers can never marry now lest substance be given to the accusation. Tefeo tries to dissuade Leriano from his love but Leriano replies with a speech on the goodness of women. At the end of this he lists examples of chastity and constancy in love, giving examples from the classics, mythology, the Bible and his own day in

almost equal quantities. Leriano then starves himself to death, consuming Laureola's last two letters before he dies. The passage on women is the only place in this work where there is any mention of mythology and the characters mentioned are described in detail. Leriano speaks of Penelope, wife of Ulysses, who, while awaiting the return of her husband, made a tapestry to keep her suitors away: she told them that she would not marry again until it was finished so by night she undid what she had done by day. Therefore twenty years later she was able to receive her husband, as chaste as the day he had left her (II.p.167). He then tells of Argeia, wife of Polyneices who, against all commands and laws, took the body of her husband from the battlefield and burned him according to the rites of the day. She put his ashes in a golden urn and promised always to be faithful to him (p.168). Then there is Hippo who drowned herself rather than surrender to enemies who took over her ship (p.168). The wife of Admetus, says Leriano, offered to die in the place of her husband, for Apollo had prophesied that he must die unless someone offered himself in his place (p.168). Among the virgins Leriano mentions Pallas or Minerva, first seen by lake Triton, inventor of many female arts and always a virgin (pp.170-1). He then tells of Atalanta who was the first to wound the Calydonian boar (p.171). This passage, which contains the only references to mythology in the Cárcel de Amor, seems out of place and indeed when examined it is seen to have been taken from Diego de Valera's Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mugeres[75] to support Leriano's argument in defence of his love. It seems then that interest in this new genre has overcome the wish, prevalent throughout the Middle Ages, to show classical erudition to a greater or lesser degree. San Pedro was clearly so interested in developing the sentimental romance that all his energies were directed at this and not at a way in which to reveal his erudition. It is also clear that when one is treating a subject from an

autobiographical point of view an effort is being made towards reality and constant references to mythology for comparative, exemplary or descriptive purposes would be out of place. If we turn now to the romances of Juan de Flores we shall see that the same attitude towards mythology emerges.

Juan de Flores

Juan de Flores' sentimental romances were printed circa 1495 but the date of their composition is uncertain. In Grisel y Mirabella the lovers are caught in the act of love-making. Mirabella's father wishes to establish which of the two lovers is more guilty and arranges a debate between Breçayda and Torrellas, a Catalan poet. The latter, an anti-feminist, wins and thus causes the deaths of the two lovers, but the Queen and her ladies take their revenge by torturing Torrellas to death. Flores clearly supports the ladies and condemns Torrellas' cynicism. He follows San Pedro in his use of mythology for there are only two such references. Barbara Matulka says:

> In his Grisel y Mirabella he foregoes intentionally the entire set of historical, or pseudo-historical, "examples" derived from the lives of famous, or infamous, women. He discards the entire traditional gallery of note-worthy ladies from antiquity, from the Bible, or fable, whose more or less legendary deeds had been exhaustively described by Boccaccio, Christine de Pisan, Álvaro de Luna and many others. He refers only to Lucretia and Atalanta, and by his deliberate omission of these over-used and time-worn enumerations, he stresses the fact that so-called historical proofs should yield to truth drawn from actual life and observation.[76]

The references to Atalanta and Lucretia which Matulka mentions are introduced as examples of chastity so that Torrellas can invalidate the praise they are given:

> si las antiguas hystorias alguna loharon: cada dia se vsan cosas nueuas. y si en aquell tiempo vsaron nobleza las damas: del contrario os preciays agora, y ahun puede acahecer: que ninguna cosa de aquellos lohores de Lucrecia y Atalanta no fuesse verdad... yo no sabria iuzgar de virtudes passadas que non vi: saluo de vicios presentes que agora veo. (p.353)

There is one other explicit reference to mythology which Matulka omits to mention. Grisel compares himself to Jason saying that he knew that to win Mirabella's love he had to follow the path of death and overcome many obstacles, just as Jason had to during his attempt to win the Golden Fleece (p.338). There are two implicit references to mythology. In chosing Breçayda to lead and defend womankind Flores may have had in mind Briseida, a heroine of the Trojan story.[77] The confusion between the two heroines Chryseis, daughter of Chryses a priest of Apollo, and Briseis, a slave girl belonging to Achilles, occurred early and the two came to be identified. Briseida, from being a symbol of woman's inconstancy, came to be famed for her wit and wisdom.[78] The description of Torrellas being torn to pieces by irate women (p.369) is probably influenced by the Bacchic orgies, during which Orpheus and Pentheus were pulled to pieces. Pamela Waley says that his death was probably influenced by the description of the death of Orpheus in the Metamorphoses XI.1-60. She argues that the similarity is greater with Orpheus than with Pentheus as the former was a musician while the latter was a poet.[79] This is true, but Flores could have drawn the details of the story of the death of Orpheus from many sources apart from the Metamorphoses. The fact that Flores says that Torrellas' ashes were worn by his murderesses (p.370) may be a mock religious joke or it may have a serious basis in pagan rites.[80]

In his other romance, Grimalte y Gradissa Flores uses the main characters of Boccaccio's Fiammetta, Fiometa and Panfilo, in a new situation brought about by Gradissa's wish to give the story a happy ending. She tells her suitor Grimalte to try to bring together the estranged couple, but there is only temporary success, for Pánfilo abandons Fiometa for a second time and she commits suicide. The Italian work is full of mythological allusions but in the Spanish there are scarcely any. Waley says this is probably due to the difference in the

attitude of the two authors to their protagonists. Boccaccio's Fiammetta wants to place herself and her emotions on a parallel with the great lovers of antiquity and above all she wants to be remembered. Flores' work, on the other hand, is of a didactic nature: Fiometa is shown to have acted unwisely, and her downfall is a warning to others (pp.22-4). She becomes disillusioned and realizes that she has lost so much for so little and she does not wish to be remembered. Indeed she says:

> ¡O romanos, y si fuera quando vosotros la mala Fiometa! Ya despues de castigada fuera meior olvidarla que la membrança de su gentil hermosura.[82]

Fiometa is not guided by mythological deities as is her Italian counterpart, who calls on the deities of Olympus, compares herself with the heroines of antiquity and menaces her faithless love with the tortures of Tartarus and the justice of Minos, as Matulka says (p.322). The nearest that Fiometa comes to this is by calling on the gods in general for help (p.38). After the death of Fiometa there are a few mythological references. In the sepulchre where everyone is grieving for Fiometa and cursing Panfilo, Flores compares the situation with that after Troy's destruction (p.57). He uses the outdoing topos, saying that the daughters of Priam did not weep so much for Hector or for the destruction of Troy; Hecuba was not so grief-stricken as these people when her palace was surrounded by Greek fire. He also says that if Penthesilea had arrived at a different time she would have grieved for no one but Fiometa, nor, he says, was Circe any better remembered. Later he refers to the tale of Jason in the same way as he did in Grisel when he says that the hardships undergone by those seeking Panfilo were no less than those endured by the people looking for the Golden Fleece (pp.65-6).

Both of Flores' romances are related to literary taste in Spain at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries,

as Waley says (Grimalte, p.lix). He likes the oratorical expression and moral didacticism but is moving from the unreality of allegory and idealism towards the realism of actual human behaviour which is so clear in La Celestina. He borrows from and imitates Boccaccio but his romances give evidence of decided personal preferences in the transposition of his sources and in the harmonization of the motifs he borrowed (Matulka, p.319). Thus he omits references to mythology to a very great extent perhaps both because they were not in keeping with reality and because all his efforts were concentrated on developing a new genre and emphasizing a didactic point. When he does use mythology it is for exemplary purposes and for the outdoing topos.

Thus it emerges that references to mythology were relatively unimportant to the writers of the sentimental romance in Spain. The main aim of these writers was to develop a didactic point through a story about love that contained a convincing portrayal of emotions. This object would of itself necessitate an absence of classical references and the writers, whose energies were directed at developing a relatively new genre, had no need to reveal their erudition by introducing mythological references that were already well used.

Baladro del sabio Merlin

The Arthurian romances were popular throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The earliest Arthurian reference in Spain occurs in one of the Corónicas navarras of the late twelfth century when we learn that King Arthur fought Mordred in 580.[83] A full Spanish treatment of the Arthurian story did not, however, come until over a century later, in works based on the Post-Vulgate Roman de Graal (formerly known as the pseudo-Boron cycle). There were three branches, the early history of the Grail, the story of Merlin and the quest of the Grail with the death of Arthur. I shall consider only one representative romance, the Baladro del sabio Merlin, printed at the end of the fifteenth

century.[84] This is a version of the Post-Vulgate Estoire de Merlin and Suite du Merlin (the former included a prose rendering of Robert de Boron's Vie de Merlin). The dependence of the Arthurian cycle on Celtic mythology has been discussed at length. Charles Bertram Lewis in a study of Chrétien's Yvain sees an overwhelming influence of the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur and analogies with the oracle of Zeus at Dodona; he concludes that there is no trace of the Celtic Otherworld nor of Irish gods. He then goes on to discover an origin for Arthur's incest in the Thyestes myth.[85] However, Roger Sherman Loomis sees evidence for some influence of Celtic mythology.[86] It would seem to me that the possibility of some Celtic influence on the Arthurian cycle is likely but that as the French writers started the popularity and spread of the cycle it was inevitable that ideas common at the time came to be integrated into the tales, be they medieval or classical. It must be noted also that elements which could perhaps be paralleled in Celtic mythology are also to be found in folk-motifs and in other mythologies. The conquest of a family by the devil, the precocity of the hero, the three deaths of a rich man, a building collapsing each time it is built, a man disguising himself to deceive a lady, the contest to choose a king are but a few examples.

Throughout the work the Baladro is faithful to its source and Pedro Bohigas finds only five principal interpolations none of which contain anything relevant to this thesis (pp.164-79). Christianity influences much of the work even to the point of concerning Merlin who was supposed to have been engendered by the devil in order to rival Christ; he was even baptized. He sees in a vision his own terrible death caused by a woman, but because he cannot see who she is, nor where it will take place, there is nothing he can do to prevent it, for he says it is ordained by God:

> No ay cosa que estorve esta aventura sino Dios solo... e bien creo sin duda que Dios por mi peccado me faze esto

> desconocer, porque por desconoscimiento fize peccar a la muy noble e sancta dueña Yguerna. (XVIII,94-102)

There is much medievalization in this work as in the other works studied. For example, in XVII, lines 41-78, the grief of the Queen and her companions when they hear about the death of Uterpadragón is typically fifteenth-century: with wails and screams they "rasgan sus vestiduras, mesando cruelmente sus cavellos" (lines 44-5), making complaints against fortune. There is only one direct classical influence in this work which is taken directly from the source. This is the story of Diana and Faunus.[87] We read that in the time of Virgil, the Lady of the Lake and Merlin came to the lake of Diana and that Merlin told his loved one of the story of Diana and Faunus. She, he says, was a huntress and a virgin but fell in love with Faunus the son of a king. She promised to love him if he left everything and came to live with her. They lived near the lake for two years. Then along came Felis, a knight, and Diana fell in love with him. Felis would not approach Diana for he said he was afraid that Faunus would attack him if he did. He threatened to leave Diana if she did not find some way of disposing of Faunus. Nearby there was a tower with a bell on top and containing water which would cure wounds. Diana emptied out the water and one day when Faunus was wounded she told him to undress, enter the tower and then she would put a stone on top and feed him some special herbs. Instead of this she deceived him by pouring in lead and thus killing him. She was pleased with her actions but when she told Felis he was horrified by such treason and cut off her head and threw it, and her body, into the lake. This story is not to be found in any classical renderings of the myth of Diana nor yet in any medieval versions that I have looked at, but as it is already present in the same form in the French tradition from which the Spanish work derives it is not really significant in the development of classical mythology in Spain. It is interesting , however, that this story has

a significant part to play in the Arthurian romance; a story with classical protagonists foreshadows the treachery of Niviana and the downfall of Merlin.

The Baladro, although it amplifies to some extent and adds anachronistic details, condenses and sometimes misinterprets and mistranslates, does not add to the French work any original material which is significant to this thesis. When we know the extent to which even the thirteenth-century writers adapted and altered their source material so that it was acceptable to their contemporary audience it becomes evident that this French cycle was so impressive and so different from anything else that had entered Spanish literature before that it was accepted and reproduced more or less faithfully into Spanish.[88]

La Celestina

La Celestina, perhaps the most radically innovative work of fifteenth-century Spain, contains medieval cultural elements which are interpreted in a way peculiar to the author and looks forward to the religious upheaval of the Renaissance. Américo Castro says:

> Esta obra, para tantos lectores admirable, surgió como una ruptura de la tradición literaria de la Europa medieval y de la grecorromana. No puede, por consiguiente, ser calificada ni de medieval ni de renacentista. El intento de sus autores no fue continuar o desenvolver temas y formas anteriores, sino embestir contra ellos, derrocarlos y trastrocar su sentido.[89]

The first extant version of La Celestina is dated Burgos 1499. It is divided into sixteen acts and is called Comedia de Calisto y Melibea. Not later than 1502 five new acts were added, together with interpolations in much of the rest of the work, a prologue and acrostic verses. The title was changed to Tragicomedia. The subsequent change to La Celestina was the decision of the printers, no doubt in response to the interest of readers. The structure of La Celestina is based on the humanistic comedy which arose in Italy in the fourteenth century and reached its

peak in the fifteenth. This was a revival (generally in Latin, though occasionally in Italian) of the classical Latin comedy; its plots treat of low life or seduction or both. However, La Celestina grew too long and complex ever to be staged without adaptation[90] and it did not have the happy or cynical ending of the humanistic comedy. The tragic end, following consummation, is characteristic of the sentimental romance. The content of the work was influenced to a very large extent by Petrarch. Numerous sententiae and exempla find their origin in Petrarch as does Rojas' picture of the impermanence of earthly happiness and the destruction that results from passion.[91] However, there is no consolation as in Petrarch thus revealing that Rojas did not use his sources without due consideration. Aristotle, Boethius, Seneca and el Tostado were used as sources in Act I and Petrarch, Mena and San Pedro among others after that point.[92]

Despite the variety of Rojas' sources, they are all well integrated into the work, which is an expression of Rojas' originality. Perhaps his greatest achievement was to be able to develop his characters psychologically and realistically, something that was unprecedented at the time.[93] Much detail is given of each character and a picture is built up. The characters develop realistically and emerge from the way in which they speak to each other and from their actions which are true to life. Even the inconsistencies of a real character are there, as when Celestina on the way to Melibea's house is suddenly overcome by panic, expressed by numerous exclamations and questions of doubt and despair, a private uncertainty is revealed in one who is publicly confident. This unique development of character is aided by a skilful use of mythological references. As in real life those from the upper classes use mythological allusions often but the lower classes do not. This does not mean, however, that those in daily contact with the upper classes, that is their servants, do not know and understand this

use of classicism, for hearing it daily they must inevitably absorb some of it. At the beginning of Act I, Calisto despairs at his rejection by Melibea. To Sempronio he compares himself to the unhappy Pyramus and Thisbe (I,36.3-4)[94] and laments his fate, that he who loves and adores Melibea is rejected by her. Sempronio tries hard to bring him to his senses with down-to-earth reasoning, but being unsuccessful and tired of his master's ranting about the "filósofos de Cupido" (I,43.17), as he calls them, Sempronio resorts to allusions to classicism which he feels may have more impact on his master:

> Dixe que tú, que tienes mas coraçon que Nembrot ni Alexandre, desesperas de alcançar vna muger, muchas de las quales en grandes estados constituydas se sometieron a los pechos e resollos de viles azemileros e otras a brutos animales. ¿No has leydo de Pasife con el toro, de Minerua con el can? (I,45.15-21)[95]

Calisto is still not impressed and so Sempronio proceeds in the language of his master, reminding him of the fall of women and their infamous deeds; he cites Solomon, Seneca, Aristotle and Bernard of Clairvaux. He lists the imperfections of women, and the Christian element appears when he reminds Calisto that it was through a woman that Adam was thrown from the garden of Eden. Despite his servant's valiant efforts Calisto is not impressed and, singing the praises of Melibea, resorts to a mythological allusion to describe her beauty, saying that it must be greater even than that of the one whom Paris chose from the three goddesses (I,56.4-8). No more mythological exchanges occur between these two characters until Act VIII when Sempronio, as might occur in real life, turns from trying to persuade Calisto not to love Melibea by appealing to him in his own way of speaking, to being sharp and impatient with his master for his persistence in his love and his high-flown allusions. Calisto, willing the time to pass so that Celestina may bring him good news,

vows:

> Ni comeré hasta entonce; avnque primero sean los cauallos de Febo apacentados en aquellos verdes prados, que suelen, quando han dado fin a su jornada. (II,21.21-22.2)

To which Sempronio replies:

> Dexa, señor essos rodeos, dexa essas poesías, que no es habla conueniente la que a todos no es común, la que todos no participan, la que pocos entienden. Dí: avnque se ponga el sol, e sabrán todos lo que dizes. (22.3-7)

This response may have been partly brought on by the fact that Sempronio and Calisto are not alone but accompanied by the young Pármeno, and Sempronio may genuinely feel that allusions beyond the understanding of Pármeno should not be used in his presence. On the other hand it is possible that Sempronio takes this opportunity to reveal to Pármeno that he is superior to him both in his power over their master and in his intellectual knowledge. It is also true that the crisis point in the love affair has passed and thus Sempronio's interest and patient understanding have waned. There is probably behind this passage, as well, Rojas' inner belief that adornment should be avoided because it does not contribute to dialogue and communication in speech.[96] When in contact with the other servants Sempronio reverts to the language of the lower classes and uses no mythological allusions.

Celestina also has this great skill of adapting her conversation to the different classes with which she has contact and using it to her own advantage. When she is trying to win Pármeno for Areúsa in Act VII, she uses, nearly always, homely comparisons and quotations from the Bible but she also reminds him that his mother on the scaffold never lost her faith in God and then tells him the story of Virgil who, although he was hung in a basket from a tower, was nevertheless still honoured. This was, however, a popular tale in the Middle Ages. She counters this vague allusion to classical times

with a quotation from the Scriptures:

> que bienauenturados eran los que padescían persecución por la justicia, que aquellos posseerían el reyno de los cielos. Mira si es mucho passar algo en este mundo por gozar de la gloria del otro. (I,244.11-15)

When she is with Areúsa Celestina uses proverbs. While she is trying to persuade Areúsa to receive Pármeno she alludes to the sirens. These creatures, though associated with mythology, are a bestiary image. George Shipley shows that bestiary images were used throughout La Celestina for the same reason as proverbs, to emphasize.[97] He says, however, that in La Celestina they do not maintain that "purity and elevation that is traditionally theirs... the circumstances of their use are earthy and the intentions of their evokers, perverse" (p.8). Thus when Celestina says to Areúsa, "acuéstate e métete debaxo de la ropa, que paresces serena" (I,248.12-13), the reference first reveals a certain flattery of Areúsa for it alludes to her charms, but underlying this is the fact that under Celestina's supervision Areúsa is playing out the siren's role: having lured Pármeno to her embrace and into Celestina's control she assures his eventual destruction - Areúsa herself, unlike the siren, however, is innocent of the knowledge that her actions will bring about Pármeno's death. Later, Pármeno, having been dragged into the web of treachery, makes the meaning of the image explicit; he is annoyed that he will not be receiving the reward he was expecting and accuses Celestina of deception; among his examples of deception he includes the song of the sirens: "el canto de la serena engaña los simples marineros con su dulçor" (II,72.19-21). Celestina uses only homely comparisons and examples when she is with Elicia. When Celestina first meets Melibea she seeks to gain her confidence and trust by piously using only biblical examples. She even says that God never painted more perfect features (I,175.19-24). She then uses homely comparisons. Still finding Melibea

resisting her persuasions, she mutters in an aside that Melibea will fall and compares the situation with that of Troy: "Mas fuerte estaua Troya e avn otras mas brauas he yo amansado! Ninguna tempestad mucho dura" (I,181.1-3); in allowing Celestina to make this statement Rojas allows her to appeal to the higher intellect of the reader. In her moment of triumph, having atleast persuaded Melibea to participate in the cure of the "sick" Calisto, Celestina praises Calisto and in doing so compares him to Alexander and Hector, two oommon comparisons for nobility and strength: "enfranqueza, Alexandre; en esfuerço Etor" (I,185.18-19). It is to be noted that it is only when Celestina has the upper hand that she is happy to resort to classicism for examples; before this point she has used homely examples and the Bible. Gaining confidence she goes on to compare him to St George, Hercules and Narcissus:

> Fuerça e esfuerço, no tuuo Ercules tanta...Por fé tengo que no era tan hermoso aquel gentil Narciso, que se enamoró de su propia figura, quando se vido en las aguas de la fuente. (I,186.2-8)

This elaboration of a classical reference is unusual and may show that Celestina is further emphasizing her superiority over Melibea by being able to expound on classical stories, a domain of the upper classes. She goes even further on this theme for when she tells Melibea that the only solace for Calisto's toothache is playing on the vihuela she elaborates, saying that if he sang:

> de mejor gana se paran las aues a le oyr, que no aquel antico, de quien se dize que mouía los arboles e piedras con su canto. Siendo este nascido no alabaran a Orfeo. (I,187.12-16)[98]

Celestina then skilfully brings her comparisons back to a Christian standpoint, so that Melibea should not doubt her words and would believe her to be thoroughly moral and trustworthy: "Ninguna muger le vee, que no alabe a Dios, que assí le pintó" (I,188.2-4). In Celestina's

later encounter with Melibea she is in the stronger position as Melibea is now appealing to Celestina for help; thus Celestina has no need to use a lot of skill and guile in persuasion and she therefore does not have recourse to impressive mythological and classical allusions.

Celestina also uses mythology when in contact with Calisto as she knows that he enjoys using such allusions. When Celestina tells him how she told Melibea that Calisto had toothache he marvels at her cleverness and says that:

> si nuestra edad alcançara aquellos passados Eneas e Dido, no trabajara tanto Venus para atraer a su fijo el amor de Elisa, haziendo tomar a Cupido Ascánica forma, para la engañar; antes por euitar prolixidad, pusiera a tí por medianera. (I,215.15-216.5)

Later, when she has listened to Calisto's dream of touching Melibea, Celestina warns him not to rush things, by using a homely comparison reminding him that Zamora was not won in an hour. However, when this produces a tirade of despair she returns to mythology to encourage him:

> ¡Calla señor! que el buen atreuimiento de vn solo hombre ganó a Troya. No desconfíes, que vna muger puede ganar otra. Poco has tratado mi casa: no sabes bien lo que yo puedo. (I,221.15-19)

Celestina's remark to Calisto that Melibea is "gentil" seems almost an insult to Calisto and produces a long speech in which Calisto compares her beauty to that of the most popular examples in the Middle Ages for such comparisons:

> Si oy fuera viua Elena, por quien tanta muerte houo de griegos e troyanos, o la hermosa Pulicena, todas obedescerían a esta señora por quien yo peno. Si ella se hallara presente en aquel debate de la mançana con las tres diosas, nunca sobrenombre de discordia le pusieran. Porque sin contrariar ninguna, todas concedieran e vivieran conformes en que la lleuara Melibea. Assí que se llamara mançana de concordia. (I,226.24-227.9)

The use of Helen and Polyxena gives a note of warning about the possible unhappy outcome of Calisto's love; as occurred with these two ladies, Calisto's passion will result in tragedy.

Celestina, then, in contact with the upper classes like them elaborates her speech with mythological allusions, but when she is with the lower classes she uses biblical and homely allusions and they return in like voice. Lida de Malkiel says of the erudition of the servants:

> La erudición no es sino un aspecto del lenguaje refinado de todos los personajes, el cual es una convención artificiosa y placentera, análoga a la de que todos los personajes de la comedia del Siglo de Oro hablen en verso y la de que todos los personajes de una ópera hablen cantando.[99]

Despite her humble origins Celestina is probably closer to the world of the pagan myths than anybody else in the work as is revealed by her aside in the scene with Melibea but especially in her prayer to Pluto:

> Conjúrote, triste Plutón, señor de la profundidad infernal, emperador de la Corte dañada... regidor de las tres furias, Tesífone, Megera e Aleto, administrador de todas las cosas negras del reyno de Stigie e Dite, con todas sus lagunas e sombras infernales. (I,148.1-150.2)

Her belief in the power she has over the devil is clearly shown when she threatens him if he will not do her will:

> heriré con luz tus cárceles tristes e escuras; acusaré cruelmente tus contínuas mentiras; apremiaré con mis ásperas palabras tu horrible nombre. (I,151.16-152.2)[100]

And in I,193.15-20 she reveals that it really was the devil who helped her to conquer Melibea when she thanks him for his help. Outwardly she professes Christianity, and indeed seems to know the Bible, but she uses the Church only to advance her immoral assignations. Those who know her well, for example Sempronio, know that her outward show of Christianity is merely a cloak to cover her true purpose; it is Sempronio who makes the greatest criticism of Celestina:

> Quando ella tiene que hazer, no se acuerda de Dios ni cura de santidades... Lo que en sus cuentas reza es los virgos que tiene a cargo e quantos enamorados ay en la cibdad e quantas moças tiene encomendadas e que despenseros le dan ración e qual lo mejor e como les llaman por nombre, porque

> quando los encontrare no hable como estraña e que cançnigo es mas moço e franco. Quando menea los labios es fengir mentiras, ordenar cautelas para hauer dinero. (II,25.4-18)

Despite her belief, however, that the devil is her master Christianity appears to be inborn and Christian remarks appear quite naturally at certain points. She quite genuinely rebukes Melibea for praising her knowledge saying: "el sabidor solo es Dios" (II,53.3). But the greatest example of her inborn Christianity is in the last words for "confessión" is repeated three times (II,104.6-7;11).

There is therefore in this work a mixing of Christianity and paganism as in the earlier works but here it is merely incidental to the main theme and the interrelationship between the two is not important to Rojas. I have already shown the mixing of the two in the character of Celestina. It also occurs in the characters of the two lovers. While they compare their deeds and love to mythological episodes and characters they remain Christian in their outlook. Calisto sees in Melibea "la grandeza de Dios" (I,31.12-13). Speaking of his passion he says that the fire burning within him is such that:

> si el del purgatorio es tal, mas querría que mi spíritu fuesse con los de los brutos animales, que por medio de aquel yr a la gloria de los sanctos. (I,41.4-7)

His servant Sempronio is offended by this opinion and accuses him of heresy. He asks him if he is still a Christian to which he replies: "Melibeo so e a Melibea adoro e en Melibea creo e a Melibea amo." (I,41.19-20). At Melibea's doors he declares to her that "los sanctos de Dios"(II,88.2) concede his love for her. Pármeno says to Sempronio that Calisto:

> no es cristiano. Lo que la vieja traydora con sus pestíferos hechizos ha rodeado e fecho dize que los sanctos de Dios se lo han concedido e impetrado. (II,88.7-10)

However, like Celestina, Calisto too seeks a return to the bosom of the Church at the end of his life calling: " Confessión" (II,184.6). Critics disagree about the sincerity of "Confessión;" but I believe

it reveals a true to life trait in the characters: any person brought up in the Roman Catholic Church, however tenuous his links or beliefs throughout his life, will have been so indoctrinated in the efficacy of repentance at the point of death that he will, even as a conditioned reflex action, grasp at confession when the last hour has arrived. It is interesting to note that those who make a habit of mythological and classical allusions, also vacillate in their approach to Christianity. It is the servants who are the stable, faithful Christians, and who use only homely, everyday comparisons, not the classical ones.

At moments of crisis the upper classes are prone to call on mythology to help express their thoughts. After the execution of Pármeno and Sempronio Calisto worries about his honour but ultimately his only concern is how he can accomplish the task started by Celestina, and he is even prepared to feign madness:

> por mejor gozar deste sabroso deleyte de mis amores, como hizo aquel gran capitán Ulixes por euitar la batalla troyana e holgar con Penélope su muger. (II,113.7-10)

After he has enjoyed Melibea he laments in the quiet of his own home the dishonour that his deeds have brought to his house, but he decides justice must be done and that the law is equal for all:

> Mira que Rómulo, el primer cimentador de Roma, mató a su propio hermano, porque la ordenada ley traspassó. Mira a Torcato romano, cómo mató a su hijo porque excedió la tribunicia constitución. (II,125.25-126.4)

And later in the same speech, wondering why his mind is turning on such miserable thoughts, he returns to thoughts of his loved one, convincing himself that nothing else matters: by day he will be abed and by night in paradise, and so he says: "¡O luziente Febo date priessa a tu acostumbrado camino!" (II,128.1-2). Melibea overhears her parents discussing her marriage and in great distress she tells Lucrecia that she does not want marriage for fear of sullying its bonds as occurred in some of the books she has read, some concerning those of even

higher estates than her own and some even telling of goddesses:

> como Venus, madre de Eneas e de Cupido, el dios del amor, que siendo casada corrompió la prometida fe marital. E aun otras, de mayores fuegos encendidas, cometieron nefarios e incestuosos yerros, como Mirra con su padre, Semíramis con su hijo, Canasce con su hermano e aun aquella forçada Thamar, hija del rey Dauid. Otras aun más cruelmente traspassaron las leyes de natura, como Pasiphe, muger del rey Minos, con el toro. (II,149.4-150.9)

Just before her death she seeks justification for her deeds in mythology. She recalls historical and mythological examples of those who were even crueller to their parents than she has been. She speaks of Orestes and Clytemnestra and the witch Medea, among others (II,193-4). Pleberio, too, turns to mythology at the climax of the work. He seeks consolation in an attack on the goddess of love and gives mythological, classical and contemporary examples of those deserted by love, for example, Paris, Helen, Hypermestra, Aegisthus, Ariadne and Leander (II,211.17-19). These speeches by Melibea and her father and also the one of Celestina to Pluto do seem stylized, unrealistic and unnatural when used in dialogue. However, Pleberio's, the only one of these to be included in the 1499 version, provided an oratorical climax to the tragic end of the lovers, and was completely in accordance with the dramatic and larger-than-life situation which had been unrolled during the progress of the work. It is possible therefore that when Rojas came to rewrite his work he saw the imbalance of this one stylized speech and also its vivid impact and therefore decided to add others at critical points of the work. Thus Stephen Gilman says of Melibea's and Celestina's soliloquies:

> Both are oratorical soliloquies which recognize in style the frame of literature which encloses the pulsating life of the whole. Thus it hardly matters if Melibea cannot be expected to remember or even know about "Bursia, rey de Bitinia" or Celestina's necromancy is expressed in terms that transcend both her education and her native tradition. Each is at this point subordinated to a univalent, non-dialogic situation. The climactic movement and its subject matter require an appropriate sublimity, a sublimity which

> if not Ciceronian in its manner seems to possess a classical motivation. And Rojas, recognizing the oratorical rather than dialogical nature of these ultimate situations, reinforces them with appropriate interpolations. (p.47)[101]

It is clear, then, that mythological references are popular with Rojas. He even uses them skilfully in his acrostic verses before the work begins. He defends the honesty and integrity of his work. Apollo, Diana and Cupid all take part (I,10.18;14.5); he compares the intricacy of his work with that of Daedalus:

> E assi que esta obra en el proceder
> Fue tanto breue, quanto muy sotil,
> Vi que portaua sentencias dos mill
> En forro de gracias, labor de plazer.
> No hizo Dédalo cierto a mi ver
> Alguna más prima entretalladura,
> Si fin diera en esta su propia escriptura
> Cota o Mena con su gran saber. (I,12.11-18)

He ends by saying that this work is a warning to all people; he urges them to live chastely, and says: "No os lance Cupido sus tiros dorados" (I,14.5). In the verses at the end of the work, Alonso de Proaza also uses the customary mythological allusions:

> La harpa de Orpheo e dulce armonía
> Forçaua las piedras venir a su son,
> Abríe los palacios del triste Plutón,
> Las rápidas aguas parar las hazía.
> Ni aue bolaua ni bruto pascía,
> Ella assentaua en los muros troyanos
> Las piedras e froga sin fuerça de manos,
> Según la dulçura con que se tañía. (II,215.4-11)[102]

But, he says, this work can do even greater things than these, in encouraging people not to love, to be happy and to advise. He uses a mythological allusion not to describe the time of day or the year but in an unusual way in order to tell his reader the date when the work was written:

> El carro Phebeo después de auer dado
> Mill e quinientas bueltas en rueda,
> Ambos entonces los hijos de Leda
> A Phebo en su casa tenían possentado. (II,218.3-6)

In the work as a whole the most popular use of mythology is for descriptive purposes. After this mythology is used for exemplary and

comparative purposes more or less in equal numbers. There are five uses of mythology to describe the time. The most popular mythological character, as one might expect, is Cupid, who is used five times, and then Phoebus and Venus are used four times each. Altogether some thirty-eight different mythological characters are used. Pluto and references to Troy occur three times but the other characters are only used once or twice. It is interesting to note that the main themes of the work are reflected in some of Rojas' mythological allusions. One of the main themes of the work is the exemplification of the fall from achievement and happiness, the fall from the wheel of fortune. This is revealed in actual terms by the real falls of Calisto, his servants and Melibea. This theme is also underlined in Rojas' choice of mythology. Twice Celestina refers to Troy, to show that something strong can still be overthrown and thus just as Troy fell so will the lovers come to the point of destruction. The two references to the judgment of Paris and to Helen and Polyxena are, significantly, both by Calisto. The use of these unfortunate examples foreshadows the tragic end of the work. In the acrostic verses Rojas refers to Daedalus. This reference probably reflects the intricate web to be woven in the plot of the play, a web from which, as from the labyrinth, there can be no happy exit; this view is upheld by the way in which Mena (one of Rojas' sources) had used the image of the labyrinth.

The authorship of La Celestina has been, and to some extent still is, a hotly disputed question.[103] All scholars would probably now agree that Acts II-XVI are by Rojas, and there is now a virtual consensus in favour of Rojas' authorship of the 1502 interpolations, but Act I and the first few pages of Act II are variously attributed to Rojas, Mena, Rodrigo Cota, the Archpriest of Talavera and a fellow-student of Rojas at Salamanca. It may be useful to consider the authorship question from the point of view of the mythological

material used in the work. To do this I have analized the occurrence of mythological details in La Celestina, dividing it into three parts.

Act I, beginning Act II		Remainder of 1499 edition		Additions in 1502 edition	
I,43.17	Cupid. (Sempronio)	I,122.13	Cruel arrow of Cupid. (Calisto)	I,149.3-4	Three Furies: Tisiphone, Meiera, Alecto. (Celestina)
45.20-1	Pasiphae and Minerva. (Sempronio)	148.1	Pluto. (Celestina)	150.1	Styx, Dis. (Celestina)
56.7-8	Paris, judgment of apple and the three goddesses. (Calisto)	181.1	Troy. (Celestina)	150.3-5	Harpies, Hydras. (Celestina)
		185.18	Hector. (Celestina)	II,72.19-20	Sirens. (Pármeno)
		186.2-8	Hercules, Narcissus. (Celestina)	113.9-10	Ulysses, Penelope. (Calisto)
		187.16	Orpheus. (Celestina)	125.25-126.3	Romulus and Remus. (Calisto)
		216.1-4	Aeneas, Dido, Venus, Cupid, Ascanius. (Calisto)	128.1-2	Phoebus. (Calisto)
		221.15-16	Sinon and Troy. (Celestina)	149.4	Venus, mother of Aeneas and Cupid. (Melibea)
		226.24-227.2	Helen, Polyxena. (Calisto)	150.4-9	Myrrha, Canace, Pasiphae, Minos. (Melibea)
		227.3-9	Judgment of Paris (Calisto)	193.7-8	Orestes, Clytemnestra. (Melibea)
		248.13	Siren. (Celestina)	194.5-6	Medea. (Melibea)
		II,21.22-22.2	Phoebus. (Calisto)		
		197.17-18	Fates cut threads of Calisto's life. (Melibea)		
		211.16-19	Paris, Helen, Hypermestra Aegisthus, Ariadne, Leander. (Pleberio)		

If these three categories are compared it emerges that there are differences in the usage of mythological material. In the eighty-six pages of Act I there are only three mythological references and these appear in the first fourteen pages, leading one to suppose that the writer who wished in the first place to display his erudition was quickly taken over by the development of his plot and characters. From Act II until the end of Act VII, one hundred and forty five pages, there are eleven mythological references in the 1499 version. From Act VIII through the remaining nine acts of the original version there are only three references. This again suggests that the use of classical allusions has been overtaken by a concentrated effort on the plot and characterization. When the 1502 additions are studied, we see there are no additions to Act I. For the rest of the work, it seems that the writer might have realized the imbalance of mythological material in the original version, for the only addition to the first eight acts is to Celestina's speech to Pluto but from Act 9 onwards there are nine interpolated mythological passages. There is a difference too in the type of mythological examples used. In Act I and the 1499 edition the mythological references are all commonplace except perhaps the references to Sinon and the episode of Aeneas, Dido and Ascanius, but the additions reveal a more detailed knowledge of mythology, the work perhaps of a more mature man. There is unity in the three parts in the way in which mythology is used. Throughout the work mythology is used only by the members of the upper classes and by their close servants, when in conversation with their masters. These conclusions lead me to agree with those who say that the additions were by the original writer, probably Rojas, a maturer man looking back on an earlier work and seeing it unbalanced in erudite allusions and adding to it more detailed and obscure examples, but not affecting in any way the realistic development of his characters. It would seem that Act I

was written by another person, for otherwise while revising the work one would have expected Rojas to have made additions to Act I as he did to the rest of the work as this was also unbalanced in mythological allusions. It would seem therefore that Rojas was respecting another's work and thus did not wish to alter Act I.

The question of the source of Rojas' mythological material is not an easy one as most of it is so common and usually it is not accompanied by any detail. Rojas' sources have been studied in detail by Castro Guisasola; he considers that many of the mythological allusions could have come from Ovid (pp.66-78) but says that the majority are so common that unless they are accompanied by a definite Ovidian phrase they are too nebulous to confirm. He thinks that in the case of Sempronio's advice to Calisto (I,45.15-21) the reference to Pasiphae and the bull probably does come from Ovid as this example serves as part of the advice that Ovid gives to the lover in his Ars Amatoria (p.67). However, he says that the second reference to Pasiphae as one of the adulteresses (II,150.2-9) could have come from numerous sources: Virgil, Petrarch, Santillana, Mena, Hyginus and many others (p.74). He believes, though, that Melibea's concern at the delay of Calisto could be influenced by similar circumstances in many of Ovid's letters: Penelope for Ulysses, Phyllis for Demophoon and Hero for Leander (p.64). The case of "aquel antico" in I,187.12-16 (see above p.231) presents some difficulty. Most classical writers have treated Orpheus' sweet song and skill on the lyre, but only Virgil and Ovid tell the story of his descent to Hades and neither exactly describes his great deeds as we have them here: "Mulcentem tigres et agentem carmina quercus" (Georgics, IV.510) and Ovid adds that he dragged the stones after him: "Carmine dum tali silvas animosque ferarum / Threicius vates et saxa sequentia ducit" (Metamorphoses, XI.1-2). Later he says that birds were stopped by his singing and that birds,

beasts, rocks and trees wept for his death. Some editors have read Antioco, Cantico or Amphion but the latter was never said to have moved trees. Deyermond says that this reference to Amphion / Orpheus is from Petrarch's De rebus familiaribus (pp.40-2). The reference to Orpheus in the verses by Alonso de Proaza is, Castro Guisasola says, not from Ovid as one might expect but from Mena. He says that Alonso de Proaza seems to be confused for he attributes the raising of the Trojan walls to the harp of Orpheus and it was in fact Apollo who raised the walls of Troy. However, he says the verse is referring to "la harpa de Orpheo" as opposed to Orpheus himself and Apollo did give his son, Orpheus, a lyre and Alonso could have been referring to this (pp.77-8). Deyermond says that Melibea's long list of unnatural murderers is a slightly shorter version of a passage from book I of De remediis utriusque fortunae (pp.67-8). However, both he (pp.44-5) and Castro Guisasola (p.128) agree that the reference to Ulysses' feigned madness (II,113.7-10) comes from Petrarch's De rebus memorandis. Some of the mythological examples could have come from the Aeneid. For example, the reference to the story of Dido, Aeneas and Ascanius seems to have been influenced by the first book of the Aeneid from line 657:

> At Cythereanovas artis, nova pectore versat
> consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
> pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
> incendat reginam, atque ossibus implicet ignem.

Calisto's reference to Dido as Elisa also signals a source in the Aeneid as she is referred to as Elisa in that work. It is possible that Celestina's speech to Pluto could have been influenced by Virgil's description of the underworld (VI.236ff). The reference to the loss of Troy and the perfidy of Sinon (I,221.15-19) is also to be found in the Aeneid: "Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis / credita res" (II.195-6). The preparations for Melibea's death and her final lament may be influenced by Dido's suicide in the Aeneid but Menéndez y Pelayo

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sees this as being influenced by the story of Hero and Leander. Castro Guisasola finds Boccaccio's Fiammetta a closer source: here the suicide is considered, not precipitate like Hero's, and it is from the walls of a house; like Fiammetta, Melibea gives a soliloquy (pp.14-17).

Unlike the writers of the sentimental romance, Rojas was capable both of creating a new genre and of incorporating into it mythological examples in an original way. No longer are they used simply as adornment in descriptive passages or simply as examples and comparisons but to add to the development of the main themes and to the characters of the protagonists. Mythological allusions are used, as in real life, by the upper classes and by the lower classes when in contact with their masters. Celestina and Sempronio skilfully use their knowledge of mythology for their own advantage. As in the earlier works there is a mixing of mythological and Christian material but this is done deliberately to create a realistic portrayal of the decadence that existed in the late fifteenth-century Church - people professing to be Christians on the one hand but worshipping the devil on the other; people using the Church for their own ends, people knowing the licentious stories of the pagans and paying more attention to them than to the Bible but in the end, despite all their sins, begging to be reaccepted into the bosom of the Church. The use of mythology by Rojas is so skilful that it can even lead us to conclusions as to the authorship of the work; his examples are so well integrated into the work that the experts have found it almost impossible to agree on a definite source for even the most startling of Rojas' examples. The use of mythological material has developed a long way from its use in the thirteenth century when it was taken more or less completely from source material to its use in the late fifteenth century to aid in the development of realistic characters within a new genre.

Notes on Chapter IV

1. Nicholas G. Round, "Renaissance Humanism and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile", MLR, LVII (1962), 204-15, says that the enhancement of the social standing of the pursuit of letters in the court of Juan II was hampered by a nobility which was steeped in the old traditions: of prime importance were theology, skill in war and enough knowledge of the law for a nobleman to be able to manage his estates. Learning was thought to detract from valour in arms and was thus shameful and suspect. He goes on to say that in an atmosphere of hostility and apathy towards their activities the learned men were isolated and untypical and this accounts for the wilful piling on of erudition in such people as Villena and Mena in order to assert themselves. He follows this up with "Five Magicians, or the Uses of Literacy", MLR, LXIV (1969), 793-805, in which he explains how the learned were often regarded as magicians and were thus suspect.

2. La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane (Paris, 1905, repr. Amsterdam, 1970).

3. Miguel Garci-Gómez, "Otras huellas de Horacio en el Marqués de Santillana", BHS, L (1973), 127-41, and "Paráfrasis de Cicerón en la definición de poesía de Santillana", Hispania (U.S.A.), LVI (1973), 207-12, challenges this accepted view. He bases his argument on a study of the Proemio e carta. The first article concludes that the evidence of the contact with Horace is not as definite as in the case of Cicero (p.141). In his article on Cicero he discusses the relationship of Proemio e carta to De Oratore. However, the argument is concerned with humanistic ideas which could have come from other sources.

4. Schiff lists one GE MS. which certainly belonged to Santillana (2nd half of Part I; MS D of his chapter LXIV), and one which may well have done (Part II; MS J of chapter LXIV). He notes that the MS of Part II may have been one of a pair, the other containing Part I, (pp.393,397-8).

5. "La General estoria: notas literarias y filológicas", RPh, XIII (1959-60), 1-30, at pp.2-3.

6. Prohemio e carta quel marqués de Santillana enbió al condestable de Portugal con las obras suyas, in Prose and Verse, ed. J. B. Trend (London, 1940), p.4.

7. Dido was a popular character throughout the Middle Ages. The story came from Virgil and Ovid, but through medieval renderings of the story she came to be the heroine of the tale, cruelly treated by the traitor. She is often used as an example of beauty as here, and also as an example of the lover and of one stricken with grief; she was also used for moralizing on account of her suicide. In the Proverbios she appears as an example of chastity, (see above, p.164). See María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Dido en la literatura española: su retrato y defensa (London, 1974).

8. All quotations and reference numbering are from R. Foulché-Delbosc's edition in Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, I (NBAE, XIX, Madrid, 1912), except for those from the Sueño, Infierno de los enamorados and Triumphete de amor for which I used Vicente García de Diego's edition in Canciones y decires (Madrid, 1913, repr. 1964).

Throughout Santillana's poems classical and mythological examples are found side by side. To avoid being side-tracked from the theme of this thesis I have not discussed the classical examples.

9. It is possible that one can see here a certain influence of Celtic mythology in which magic swords are popular; any such influence would be exercised through the intermediary of Arthurian romance. However, Stith Thompson has no similar cases of a sword turning grief to good fortune.

10. The Middle Ages took the story of Narcissus from Ovid, but the writers of this period saw in it attributes of an exemplum. Frederick Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric (New York, 1967), says that they saw in the fate of Narcissus a representation of an indispensable human experience, the birth of self-consciousness through love (p.23), and he studies French, German, Italian and Latin Courtly Love lyrics in this light. Louise Vinge, The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early Nineteenth Century (Lund, 1967), also studies this subject. She studies Narcissus from his conception in classical works, through medieval Latin and vernacular works to the nineteenth century, concentrating on Latin, French and Italian works. She spends little time on medieval Spanish works, probably because she is using Cossío as her source for Spanish literature.

11. Similarly, ominous overtones are added by a reference to Polyxena in La Celestina; see above, p.232.

12. See Rafael Lapesa, La obra literaria del Marqués de Santillana (Madrid, 1957), pp. 65-73 for a study of this poem; it is probably not by Santillana and is not really a villancico.

13. Mediaeval Spanish Allegory (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915, repr. 1974), pp.210-11. Joseph Seronde, "A Study of the Relations of Some Leading French Poets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries to the Marqués de Santillana", RR, VI (1915), 60-86, also sees an important French influence on Santillana. However, he says, he did not copy whole passages from the French as from the Italians but rather made random gleanings (p.72). See also Seronde, "Dante and the French Influence on Santillana", RR, VII (1916), 194-210.

14. This type of reference is popular in the fifteenth century: it occurs in the Laberinto de Fortuna and La Celestina.

15. There is a variant manuscript in which the initial non reads nos; this would, of course, reduce the argument for this being a lovers' hell. However, if the nos were correct it would render the following nin ... nin meaningless. See A. D. Deyermond, "How Real is Santillana's Hell?" (Unpublished Paper), and Post, pp.75-102.

16. The Marqués de Santillana (New York, 1972), p.82.

17. "La 'nueva manera' de Santillana: estructura y sentido de la Defunssión de don Enrique de Villena", Hispanófila, 47 (Jan. 1973), 3-26, at p.23. See also Joaquín Gimeno Casalduero, "La defunsión de don Enrique de Villena del Marqués de Santillana: composición, propósito y significado", in Studia hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa, II (Madrid, 1972), pp.269-79.

18. The Sirens came to be used as a bestiary image: see above, pp.91, 116 note 71, 174, 211, 230 and below, p.252, n.97.

19. Casalduero compares this elevation of Villena at the end of his life to the treatment that Villena himself gave to Hercules in Los doze trabajos de Hércules when he deified him. He says that the temple of the Muses signifies arts and sciences and that "don Enrique la persona sabia que asegura para el futuro, con su labor y con su ahinco, el patrimonio espiritual contemporáneo" (p.276).

20. "The Structure and Content of Santillana's Comedieta de Ponza", BHS, LI (1974), 109-24, at p.109.

21. "Un análisis de la Comedieta de Ponza", Boletín de Filología (Chile), XXI (1970), 175-91, at p.183.

22. This use of Tyrian is found in the Aeneid; it is a synonym for Carthaginian as Carthage was colonized from Tyre.

23. "The Marqués de Santillana and the Classical Tradition", Iberoromania, I (1969), 5-34, at pp.20-1.

24. This episode appears in Aeneid VII, when Aeneas and Turnus are fighting for the hand of Lavinia.

25. This is indeed possible for Gimeno Casalduero has shown conclusively in his article on the Defunsion that Santillana took ideas for this poem from Villena's poem on Hercules.

26. See also Juan de Mena, below, p.204.

27. This poem offers an interesting comparison with Villena's poem on Hercules. However, Santillana was not relying on Villena for all his facts as this mention of Achelous is not in Villena, nor is it an often-used episode in the life of Hercules.

28. The Planto de la reina Pantasilea is now not generally attributed to Santillana; see below, pp.265-7.

29. Gimeno, "San Jerónimo y el rechazo y la aceptación de la poesía en la Castilla del siglo XV", in La creación literaria de la Edad Media y del Renacimiento (Madrid, 1977), pp.45-65, says that in the fifteenth century the use of mythological invocations in profane works and Christian ones in religious works is quite usual (p.56).

30. Martín de Riquer published an edition of La Yliada en romance (Barcelona, 1949), with the Ilias Latina on the facing page.

31. See above, note 18.

32. All quotations are from R. Foulché-Delbosc's edition in Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, I (NRAE, XIX, Madrid, 1912), except for those from the Laberinto de Fortuna for which I used José Manuel Blecua's edition (Madrid, 1943, repr. 1960).

33. See above, p.150 and below, p.207.

34. "Classical Antiquity in Some Poems of Juan de Mena", in Studia hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa, III (Madrid, 1975), pp.405-18, at p.408.

35. According to Lida de Malkiel, Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español (México, 1950), pp.101-2, this alternation was quite common in the first half of the fifteenth century.

36. However, Mena's statements in the commentary to the Coronación reveal that he did know that Diana was goddess of chastity (see above, p.193). Nevertheless the Baladro del sabio Merlin contains a story in which Diana killed one lover to please another (see above, pp. 225-6). At some time therefore, Diana as a lover must have entered Spanish literature, maybe via the Arthurian cycle which was well known by the fourteenth century.

37. See also La Coronación, below, pp. 183,191-3.

38. See above, pp.157-8,163.

39. "La General estoria", pp.9-10. I shall be discussing the use of GE in my study of La Coronación, pp.180-201.

40. See Inez Macdonald, "The Coronación of Juan de Mena: poem and commentary", HR, VII (1939), 125-44, at pp.134-5.

41. Lida de Malkiel, "La GE", says that Mena is following Alfonso el Sabio here (GE, II.i.362b), in condemning Amphiaraus who was looked upon favourably in Antiquity (p.5); it is to be noted that he also appeared as a bishop in GE.

42. Post, Mediaeval Spanish Allegory, pp.239-40, says that this hell has a strong classical colouring that derives from the Aeneid VI, and that there are no more than one or two hypothetical reminiscences of Dante's Inferno.

43. Integumenta Ovidii: poemetto inedito del secolo XIII, ed. Fausto Ghisalberti (Messina-Milano, 1933).

44. Arnolfo d'Orléans: un cultore de Ovidio nel secolo XII, ed. Fausto Ghisalberti (Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere, Scienze Morali e Storiche, XXIV,4, Milano, 1932). Ghisalberti says that this originally emerged as part of the above work of John of Garland.

45. This work first appeared about 1342. It is edited by Fausto Ghisalberti: "L'Ovidius moralizatus di Pierre Bersuire", Studii Romanzi, XXIII (1933), 1-136. A fifteenth-century manuscript of Morales de Ovidio, a Castilian translation of Bersuire, belonged to Santillana, and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional (see Schiff, pp.84-8).

46. C. de Boer edited this work: Ovide moralisé: poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle (5vols, Amsterdam, 1915-20). De Boer dates this work at 1305 but Joseph Engels, Études sur l'Ovide moralisé (Groningen, 1945), says that it was written between 1316 and 1328.

47. This discovery by Lida de Malkiel has probably escaped notice because it is set out in several pages of small print in the midst of a long article, whose title is unconnected with Mena.

48. The following material on the commentary is from my article "Juan de Mena's Ovidian Material: an Alfonsine Influence?", BHS, LV (1978), 5-17. This study of prose material in the midst of poetry is perhaps incongruous, but the evidence drawn from this study

sheds so much light on Mena's source for mythology that its inclusion here is important.

49. For Ovid I use Metamorphoses (Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols, London, 1914, repr. 1966).

50. In this study I quote from a late fifteenth-century edition of the Coronaçión with commentary, British Library shelfmark, G.11275. Here and in quotations from the GE in this section of my study I regularize the use of i and j, u and v.

51. This is of course the well-known brevity topos, but, as is equally well known, the use of a topos does not prove insincerity, and there is no reason on this occasion to disbelieve Mena.

52. Bersuire and the Ovide moralisé are, as we have seen, post-Alfonsine. There is another allegorical treatise on Ovid, by Giovanni del Virgilio, which I have been unable to consult. However, since it is dated at about 1322-3, it is too late to have been a common source for Alfonso and Mena, and he does not expand the Ovidian tales so that it could not alter the conclusions of this study. As to other versions of Ovid, Professor Lloyd A. Kasten informs me that the Alfonsine files in the Seminary of Medieval Spanish Studies at the University of Wisconsin reveal nothing that could be a common source for Alfonso and Mena. I am very grateful to Professor Kasten for examining the files on my behalf.

53. De Vetula is an elegiac comedy of the thirteenth century, supposed to have been found in Ovid's tomb and including many Ovidian themes on love. It was a major vehicle for the transmission of Ovidian material in the Middle Ages.

54. "Medieval Biographies of Ovid", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, IX (1946), 10-59, at p.30, note 4.

55. Anthony Cárdenas, Jean Gilkison, John Nitti and Ellen Anderson, Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts (2nd ed., Madison, 1977), pp.4-5.

56. These are nos. 9-14 of the inventory published by Julián Zarco Cuevas, Catálogo de los manuscritos castellanos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, III (El Escorial, 1929), pp.453-61.

57. Gimeno, "Castilla en Los doce triunfos del Cartujano", HR, XXXIX (1971), 357-77. Jorge Manrique's list of Roman heroes, in stanzas 27-8 of Coplas que fizo por la muerte de su padre, is also taken from the Estoria de Espana: see Ernst R. Curtius, "Jorge Manrique und der Kaisergedanke", ZRPh, LII (1932), 129-52 and Lida de Malkiel, "Notas para la primera de las Coplas de don Jorge Manrique por la muerte de su padre", RPh, XVI (1962-3), 170-3, at p. 171.

58. Francisco Rico, "Aristoteles Hispanus: en torno a Gil de Zamora, Petrarca y Juan de Mena", Italia Medioevale e Umanistica, X (1967), 143-64. It is possible that Mena used a Castilian translation of De preconiis, since one was in Santillana's library and may well have been made at Santillana's request (Schiff, pp.421-3).

59. See above, pp.140-1.

60. See "La GE", p.2.

61. Mário Martins, "Fernão Lopes e as cartas de Ariadne e Dido", in Estudos de cultura medieval, II (Braga, 1972), 11-16.

62. Lida de Malkiel suggests that this is Mena's own contribution, ("La GE", p.5).

63. Juan de Mena's Laberinto de Fortuna, classic epic and mester de clerecía (Romance Monographs, V, University, Mississipi, 1973), p.29. See also the review by A. D. Deyermond, BHS, LIII (1976), 136-7.

64. Compare La Celestina, see below, pp.237,238.

65. Chandler R. Post, "The Sources of Juan de Mena", RR, III (1912), 223-79, attempts to refute the widespread theory of Mena's indebtedness to Dante in this and other poems. He says that in content as well as in language and style there is evidence of classical sources; there are a greater number of poetic words introduced from Latin than from French and Italian works; he notes the imitation of the Latin inversion (p.251). Later, in his book, Mediæval Spanish Allegory, he sees the allegorical content as being more influenced from France than from Italy. However, he does say in his book that the historical personages on the wheels of Fortune reveal a vividness and power which certainly reflects a profitable study of the Italian epic and instils life into the fantastic unreality of the allegorical type that he borrowed from France and from Boccaccio and Petrarch (p.238). Nevertheless, he concludes his article saying that there are only a few instances in Mena's poetry which may be from Dante and that these are all of architectonic detail and in no way determine the general structure. He says Mena prefers Boccaccio and Petrarch because of their humanism (pp.278-9).

66. The name Alçides is explained by the fact that Alcaeus was the father of Amphitryon, husband of Alcmene, mother of Hercules.

67. Compare La Celestina, see below, p.233.

68. Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (NBAE XXII, Madrid 1915), p. 229.

69. "Fingen los poetas. Notes on the Spanish attitude towards pagan mythology", in Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal, I (Madrid, 1950), pp.275-88, at p.288.

70. See below, pp.228-9.

71. Ed. Francisco López Estrada (Madrid, 1943), p.17. This same story is told by Alfonso, GE, II.ii.117b-119a. The ancient versions of the story blame Paris for the abduction of Helen, but in the Middle Ages the Trojans became so much the heroes of the story that a Trojan could not be seen to offend the laws of hospitality and abduct the wife of his host from her home. For this reason most romancers follow Dares who had Paris steal Helen from the island of Cythera where she was attending the feast of Venus. Indeed some even said she had gone there to see the handsome Trojan. See Margaret R. Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature (New York and London, 1963), p.33.

72. Similarly, Alexander, when he comes to the site of the ruined city of Troy, remembers the story of the Trojan war (Alexandre, 322-761).

73. López Estrada comments that this passage is the result of Clavijo's meeting women living in a certain type of primitive society, linking them with the Amazons, and making them the descendants of these purely mythical people, pp.CCXXXIX-CCXL. Arthur Percival Newton, "Travellers' Tales of Wonder and Imagination", in Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages, ed. Newton (London, 1926), pp.159-73, says that a reader of a travel book would have great difficulty extracting fact from fiction for to the traveller everything was marvellous and larger than life so there developed much exaggeration in the descriptions, especially of freaks and monsters.

74. All references are to the edition by Keith Whinnom, Obras completas (Madrid, vol. I, 1973; vol II, 1971).

75. In Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV (BAE, CXVI, Madrid, 1959), pp.55-76.

76. The Novels of Juan de Flores and their European Diffusion. A study in comparative literature (New York, 1931), p.319. References to Grisel y Mirabella are from this edition.

77. To uphold this suggestion of his interest in the Trojan story is a long allusion to the sack of Troy in Grimalte y Gradissa, see below, p.222.

78. Santillana, in the Triumphete de Amor (17) describes her as "la discreta Troyana". The fickle love of Briseis for Troilus appears in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's Roman de Troie and in a prose adaptation of Guido delle Colonne's Historia troyana. But others considered her wronged and long-suffering and constant; they ascribed all her unhappiness to the mad and unreasonable Troilus. Chaucer warns all lovers lest they suffer the undeserved unhappiness that came to Criseida and Troilus because of love.

79. "Juan de Flores and the Evolution of Spanish Fiction in the Fifteenth Century" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1967), p.152.

80. A. D. Deyermond sees in this episode elements of the Last Supper (A Literary History of Spain, p.165).

81. "Fiammetta and Panfilo Continued", Italian Studies, XXIV (1969), 15-31.

82. Grimalte y Gradissa, ed. Pamela Waley (London, 1971), p.47.

83. Corónicas navarras, ed. Antonio Ubieta Arteta (Textos Medievales, XIV, Valencia, 1964), p.40.

84. El baladro del sabio Merlin, ed. Pedro Bohigas (Selecciones Bibliófilas, 2a serie, II, XIV, XV, Barcelona, 1957-62). References are chapter & line nos.

85. Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance (Oxford, 1932).

86. The Development of Arthurian Romance (London, 1963) and Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance (New York, 1927).

87. XXXV, 105-94.

88. Amadís de Gaula is an exception to this. This is a reworking by Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, circa 1492, of an earlier version. It is the Arthurian story transferred into a new setting: many of the names, motifs, and sequences of the episodes are strongly reminiscent of the Arthurian romance.

89. La Celestina como contienda literaria (Madrid, 1965), p.95.

90. Only recently have stage versions, much adapted, been attempted.

91. See Deyermond, The Petrarchan Sources of La Celestina (London, 1961), for a study of the influence of Petrarch on the Celestina.

92. See below, pp.242-4, for a study of Rojas' sources.

93. The Archpriest of Talavera, in the Corbacho, reveals realism in popular speech, in the interjections and quick exchange of dialogue, but there is no development of the character.

94. La Celestina, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (2 vols, Madrid, 1913, repr. 1963). References are to volume, page and line numbers.

95. Otis H. Green, "Minerva con el can", NRFH, VII (1953), 470-4, says that this should be Vulcan; certainly this would make more sense but the parallel between Pasiphae and the bull and Minerva and the dog has been noted by Luis Rubio García who suggests that the error is deliberate; he says that it is after all Sempronio speaking in a language assimilated only from mixing in his master's company; and if the mistake were deliberate it would reveal the wittiness of Sempronio, and if not it would show that he is not as erudite as he would like people to think: Estudios sobre La Celestina (Murcia, 1970), p.16.

96. This reply by Sempronio may be Rojas adding his own views to those of other writers of the fifteenth century on whether or not mythological elements should appear in literary works.

97. "Bestiary References in Fernando de Rojas' La Celestina: the ironic undermining of authority" (Unpublished paper, 1975), pp.7-8. I am grateful to Professor Shipley for allowing me to consult his paper.

98. There is no classical precedent for the statement that Orpheus moved stones, though Apollo's music moved the stones to build the walls of Troy. Alonso de Proaza makes this same mistake; see below, pp,237, 243.

99. La originalidad artística de la Celestina (Buenos Aires, 1962), p.333.

100. This conjuration is similar to the one in the Laberinto de Fortuna, see above, pp.206-7.

101. The Art of La Celestina (Madison, 1956).

102. See below,p.243, for notes on the possible source for this.

103. For studies on La Celestina and the authorship question see for example, R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Observations sur La Celestina", RH, VII (1900), 28-60; RH, IX (1902), 171-95; RH, LXXVIII (1930), 544-99;

F. Castro Guisasola, Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de La Celestina (Madrid, 1924, repr. 1973); Marcel Bataillon, La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas (Paris, 1961); J.Homer Herriott, "The Authorship of Act I of La Celestina", HR, XXXI (1963), 153-9; J. Vallejo, F. Castro Guisasola y M. Herrero García, "Notas sobre La Celestina. ¿Uno o dos autores?", RFE, XI (1924), 402-12; also Lida de Malkiel and Luis Rubio García, see above notes, 99 and 95.

104. Orígenes de la novela, III (NBAE, XIV, Madrid, 1910), pp. LI-LII.

Chapter V

The Transmission and Treatment of the Amazons and Apollo

In order to give a complete and interesting study of any one mythological figure from classical times through to the fifteenth century three aspects must be considered: the time span over which it was popular, the extent to which it was used and the diversity of its usage. Although many examples of Aeneas, Dido, Medea and Ulysses have been found they have mostly been in fifteenth-century works; similarly, although the Trojan War was a popular subject for literature throughout the Middle Ages it is not until the fifteenth century that there is a wide usage of its heroes and heroines in literature not principally concerned with the retelling of the story itself.[1] Figures like Daedalus, Orestes, Narcissus and Medusa do not appear very often in Spanish works. Achilles was popular throughout the Middle Ages, but only in his capacity as a warrior. Venus was also well known but was treated by medieval writers only in her role of goddess of love. Hercules would have been a suitable character but he has already been the subject of a thesis by R. G. Keightley. For these reasons, therefore, I have chosen in this chapter to study the Amazons and Apollo.

The name Amazon probably derives from the Greek meaning without breasts, originating in the detail that the women supposedly removed one breast to facilitate fighting. Robert Graves, however, sees this as an Armenian word meaning Moon Goddess, and concludes that they are priestesses to Artemis, defending their positions.[2] J. A. Pérez-Rioja says the myth is a personification of the clouds: moving with the clouds the Amazons sometimes fertilize the ground

with the secretions from their breasts and at other times fight hard, producing thunder and lightning. The belt of Hippolyte he sees as the rainbow.[3] Yet others like Guy Cadogan Rothery see in this legend an element of fact, a vestige of a matriarchal society.[4] Carlos Alonso del Real says that Alfonso el Sabio really believed in the existence of the Amazons in a place called Feminia and that they were the ancestors of the Goths. He says that this was an example of the Middle Ages wishing to exalt past and present Spain by proving relations with Greece and Rome.[5] H. J. Rose says that the tales of the Amazons are probably nothing more than the common travellers' tales of the distant foreigners who do everything the wrong way about and adds "why this particular tale caught Greek fancy and was elaborated we do not know".[6] Arthur Percival Newton's ideas on travellers' tales would seem to uphold those of Rose. He says that to the traveller everything was so marvellous in the Middle Ages that it became larger than life and exaggerated, so that readers would have had great difficulty in extricating fact from fiction: this could account for the growth of the Amazon legend.[7] There is therefore much controversy about the origin of this myth. It is certain that no one can be certain of the original reason for the birth of the myth, but it is also certain that there were elaborately dressed women warriors in ancient society, as their bodies have been found after battles. Evidence of tombs of warrior women and place names point almost conclusively to a female attack on Athens. This was probably around 1256 B.C.[8] Also icons have been found depicting armed priestesses. Down to recent times travellers have reported bands of fighting women in the Caucasus. Francisco de Orellano, in 1540, saw tribes of women warriors on the banks of a river in South America which he subsequently named the Amazon. There is also a theory that the Amazons were in fact clean-shaven men (Sobol, pp.120-3).

Rothery sees in the geographical position a possible reason for the birth of the myth. To the ancient Greeks, distant Asia and regions to the North-East of the Black Sea and around the Caspian Sea were lands to be feared; Scythia was, they knew, inhabited by a race of savage warriors, whose women fought. Also they knew that the worship of the cruel, sensual Astarte, the moon-huntress goddess of the Far East, brought from the South-East shores of the Black Sea priestesses prepared to fight, and so it is not impossible that the Amazon legend simply grew out of these facts and thus symbolized the peril that Greece had to face. That abhorrence may have started the myth is a tenable view, for the early Greek conception of the Amazons was of a cannabalistic and bloodthirsty race intent on war, robbery and rape, whereas later the Greeks saw them as a splendid race of women, suppressing natural instincts in the interest of their community and ideals.

However, whether the Amazon myth originated from women auxiliaries in armies, from female athleticism as in Sparta, from smooth-shaven Hittites, or from armed priestesses is impossible to prove: the Amazons left behind no artifacts, no cuneiform tablets and no ruins. What is certain is that the legend of the Amazons captured the minds of poets, artists and historians; so much interest was shown in this myth that it became extensively expanded and elaborated; Queens became confused, details of other legends crept in, later writers mistranslated and miscopied so that the picture we have today of the Amazonian legend is a confused patchwork. It is possible, however, to extricate the principal episodes and most popular details.

The main classical writers to study the Amazon legend were Herodotus, Hyginus, Apollodorus, Pindar, Apollonius Rhodius, Plutarch, Pliny and Diodorus Siculus. Then in the early Christian centuries Dictys and Dares wrote of the Amazon intervention in the Trojan war; Quintus of Smyrna in the fourth century included details of this legend

in his epic continuing Homer's work; in the fifth century Servius wrote about the Amazons in his commentary on the Aeneid, as did Orosius in the same century. Godfrey of Viterbo, Isidore of Seville and Honorius Inclusus also wrote about the Amazons. It is probably from these later writers that the Middle Ages received their knowledge of the legend. Alfonso el Sabio says that his sources for this story are Orosius and Godfrey of Viterbo. The following picture of the Amazons emerges from these writers. They were a race of women warriors whose kingdoms lay on the southern shores of the Black Sea; at the mouth of the river Thermodon they built their capital Themiscyra. They were said to descend from Ares and the Naiad Harmonia, or Aphrodite, or Otrere. They defeated all the tribes as far as the river Tanais, then westwards to Thrace and across the Thermodon to Phrygia. They seized much of Asia Minor; it is from these legends of conquest that the Amazon foundation legends spring. Their deities were Ares and Artemis; their occupations were hunting and fighting; they were said to carry brazen bows and crescent-shaped shields; sometimes they also had axes or spears. Their helmets, clothes and girdles were made from the skins of wild beasts according to Pindar and Servius. In later Greek art, one can see the tendency to refinement which has already been referred to, since they appear as beautiful women, armed for battle, mounted on fiery horses and trampling on their fallen foes.[9] They were said to remove one breast, usually the right to facilitate fighting, but a frieze of the temple of Aesculapius, now at the central museum, Athens, shows the Amazon with two breasts under folds of draperies, a further refinement.

Generally it is stated that no men were allowed within their borders, and only when they desired children, at certain seasons, did they seek out the company of men. Strabo says that they spent two months of each year in neighbouring mountains with male tribes. The Amazons kept the female babies but the male children were sacrificed

or mutilated and retained as serfs, or sent back to their fathers. The principal legends involving the Amazons which have come down to us are those of Hercules' ninth labour and the Trojan War. Diodorus Siculus says that Hercules was sent to bring to Eurystheus the golden girdle worn by the Amazon Queen, Hippolyte. Apollodorus says that Hippolyte offered Hercules the girdle, but Hera, in the guise of an Amazon, incensed the others by saying that the strangers were coming to abduct Hippolyte. They armed and charged down to the boat in the harbour of Themiscyra. Hercules, suspecting treachery, killed Hippolyte, took the girdle, fought the other Amazons and sailed away. Some say that Theseus captured Hippolyte and gave the girdle to Hercules. The latter, in return, allowed Theseus to make her his slave. Plutarch says that Theseus did not go with Hercules to the Thermodon, but that he later invaded the Amazon state by force, or that he went by stealth, and took Hippolyte by whom he had Hippolytus. For whatever reason the Amazons, led by Oreithyia, attacked Theseus in Athens but they were defeated and retired from Attica. Some say that Hippolyte was killed at this battle, others that she survived and was killed by Theseus when she interrupted his wedding feast with Phaedra.[10] The story of the attack of Bellerophon on the Amazons is not treated by medieval writers. Iobates sent Bellerophon to attack the Amazons; mounted on his horse Pegasus he flew over the Amazons and showered them with arrows. When they retreated into their buildings he threw boulders on them until they eventually fled towards the Thermodon. It is possible that the medieval writers found this picture of Bellerophon flying across the sky on a horse too fantastic to interpret realistically and so they chose to omit this story from the Amazon legend.

The Amazons are also seen as coming to the help of Priam after Hector's death, under their Queen Penthesilea. Some say that Penthesilea

killed Achilles and that Zeus, at a plea from Thetis, restored him to life, whereupon he killed Penthesilea, fell in love with her, and committed necrophily on her body. The love of Achilles for Penthesilea after he had killed her represents the later feelings of the Greeks when they had grown out of the terrors which may have inspired the growth of the myth. The dying Penthesilea is carved on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. The necrophily is absent in Dictys who says that after Achilles had killed her he then wanted to give her an honourable funeral but that Diomedes threw her into the Scamander.[11] The help given to the Trojans by the Amazons, also occurs in the work of Dares.

Another Amazon Queen popular among classical writers was Thalestris, who was reputed to have visited Alexander as he was marching through Parthia. Plutarch dismisses this as pure fiction; however, it is not impossible that a legion of women warriors did come to offer homage to Alexander; that their leader was a Queen of the Amazons could have been an embroidery by later historians.

Except for the attack of Bellerophon all the above details appear at one time or another in medieval Spanish works. I shall first study the origin of the Amazons and their physical aspect as they appear in the Middle Ages. In the General estoria Alfonso el Sabio gives the Spanish Middle Ages its principal detailed, vernacular study of the Amazon legend. Throughout this work he has attempted to give rational explanations for the existence of mythological characters and events; his treatment of this legend is no exception. He sees a simple historical fact behind the growth of the Amazon race. Acknowledging his sources, Orosius and Godfrey of Viterbo, he says that two youths, Hylinos and Scolopotus, led their people to Pontus and Cappadocia and by force set themselves up on the banks of the Thermodon. They looted and attacked the surrounding area; their wives were worried at all this fighting and tried to persuade their men to stay at home, but they

refused. The men were killed on one of their raids and the women, seeing themselves widows, decided to defend their land themselves. So as to avoid any feelings of jealousy, they killed the remaining males even to the youngest boy. They attacked those who had killed their husbands. When they had had their revenge they returned home in peace, (II.i.120a30-121a31). Having successfully rid themselves of men they wondered how they should go about the continuation of their race. They decided to invite the neighbouring men to meet them and lie with them on the frontiers of the kingdoms. The girls they would keep, the boys they would send to their fathers. Alfonso does say, however, that according to some writers they killed their sons. They found that fighting was impeded by their breasts so they burnt the right breast of each baby girl so that this one did not grow; the left one was retained for suckling. For this reason, says Alfonso, the Greeks gave them the name of Amazon, a being Greek for without and mazon for breast: "et en el nuestro lenguage de Castiella tanto quiere dezir amazonas como mugieres sin teta" (121a37-122a22). The tribe was divided into two, Marpesia and Lampado being the Queens. The two groups took turns to go out fighting or to stay and defend their territory. Orosius tells how they won a large part of Europe, some towns in Asia and the city of Ephesus. They won much land and booty but Marpesia was killed and her daughter Sinope made Queen after her (122a29-123a3).

The other works studied do not give as much space to the origins of the Amazons as Alfonso but the same details appear, and the Amazons are accepted as an historical race rather than a mythical one. The Semeiança del mundo mentions the foundation of Ephesus, adding the Christian thought that here lived St John (B52). The author says that the Amazons live in the Caucasus, that they are warriors, and that they have only one breast (B42). From this use of the present tense it would seem that the writer was accepting the Amazons as historical fact,

though it is true that he is repeating his source material (see above, pp.51-2). At the other end of the Middle Ages Juan de Mena, while describing the world picture, turns to the Caucasus and in exactly the same way and with identical details and the use of the present tense, notes that on the slopes of the Caucasus, "conbate e ofende / la gente amazona menguada de tetas" (Laberinto de Fortuna, 39ef). Clavijo too emphasizes these same details and regards the Amazons as an actual race. In the Embajada a Tamorlán the travellers are going towards China, when they pass the land of the Amazons. Clavijo says that even today these women entertain no men except at certain times of the year, when the eldest gives all permission to seek out the man by whom they wish to have a baby. They keep the girls but send the boys to their fathers. Clavijo includes a detail not found in any of the other works studied, that after the destruction of Troy, the Amazons that were fighting there divided into two groups, one going to Turkey and the other being the ancestors of the people he has described; Clavijo also adds that they were Christians in the Greek faith (212). The author of the Alexandre brings contemporary thought into his treatment of mythological events. The Amazon queen, Thalestris, comes to visit Alexander; for a description of the Queen the poet leaves his source material and gives an original description of her, one that would seem to be following the medieval rhetorical devices for describing the physical appearance of a character. First there is a description from afar, then come the details, beginning with the head and working downwards (1874-8). However, Charles Faulhaber does not find any evidence of the teaching of rhetoric before the fifteenth century, and so it is possible that this method of describing a person was a commonplace in the Middle Ages and that the author of the Alexandre was not using a particular manual of rhetoric for the description which to him is original.[12] Here then is another writer who accepts the Amazons as an actual race, for only

by doing this could he envisage Alexander lying with Thalestris. The episode itself was probably in order to exalt Alexander and thus an embellishment by later historians. For other details of Amazon life the poet of the Alexandre digresses from his main source, Gautier de Châtillon, to use the Historia de Preliis.[13] He introduces the same general details about the Amazons as the other writers: they do not live with men, but three times a year lie with them; they nurture the female child but send the male to his father. They carry bows and arrows, they burn the right breast for ease of movement but retain the left to suckle their daughters (1865-9). The poet, however, makes an interesting addition to the details of the legend by describing the Amazons' clothes and equipment:

> Todas vinien vestidas de capas traueseras
> sus ballestas al cuello turquesas e çerueras
> saetas e quadrillos de diuersas maneras
> todas sabien parar corriendo caualleras. (1867)
> Fasta la media pierna les da la vestidura
> no caherie en tierra por palmo de mesura
> calçan bragas muy prietas con firme ligadura
> semejan bien varones en toda su fechura. (1870)

Details of the encounter of Hercules and the Amazons are given by Alfonso in GE II.ii.20b23-21b5. Eurystheus, he said sent Hercules to overcome the Amazons; he emphasizes the great esteem that the world had for the Amazons by saying:

> E el rey Euristeo mando a Ercules que fuese a lidiar con ellas. E Ercules vio que lo enbiaua a peligro muy grande e que non lo podia desuiar. E por la grand fama que ellas auien non lo touo en desden, pero que eran mugeres. (20b29-35)

Hercules therefore gathered together all the valiant young men to accompany him. He then sailed secretly so that when he came to the Amazons they were not expecting him. They were thus unarmed and off their guard, and were easily overthrown. The Queens Antiope and Oreithyia were killed; Hercules captured Antiope's sisters Melanippe and Hippolyte, and gave the latter to Theseus who married her and by whom she had Hippolytus. Antiope's body was given to Melanippe so that she could

take the dead Queen's armour and weapons. Alfonso concludes this episode thus:

> E estas reynas de las amazonas sienpre salieron buenas e de grandes fechos, tanto que dize Orosio sobre los fechos dellas que verguença es del yerro de los omnes que las mugeres que salieron echadas de su tierra que entraron por muchos lugares de Europa e de Asia, que son de las fuertes partes del mundo, e andudieron por su vagar destruyendo e tomando las çibdades que querian, e faziendo otras de nueuo e teniendolas. E esto les duro mas de çient annos. E dize en cabo que esta presura de aquellas guerras non fue synon por culpa de los omnes. (21a38-b5)

Alfonso has omitted to say that the main reason for Hercules' attack was for him to capture and take to Eurystheus the girdle of Hippolyte; however, he was not ignorant of the fact, for later Hercules recalls, while dying, how he conquered the Amazons and brought back the girdle (II.ii.45a2-3). Heredia in his Grant crónica de Espanya also includes this episode. He follows the same lines as Alfonso who, as I have shown, was the source of much of his material, but he adds a medieval thought on honour to the episode. Alfonso tells how Hercules crept up on the Amazons unawares; Heredia picks on the unchivalrous nature of this action and has Melanippe and Hippolyte accusing Hercules of unchivalrous behaviour for attacking them unawares (31.11-12).[14]

The poet of the Planto que fizo Pantasilea alludes to this episode by saying that the Queen avenged Oreithyia and Melanippe for the wrong done them by Hercules and Hippolyte for being defiled by Theseus:

> Yo vengue la reyna Orithia
> de Hercules e Menelida. (3ef)
> Di vengança de Theseo
> a Ypolites ofendida. (4ab)[15]

Santillana must have had some knowledge of this episode for he includes Hippolyte among the followers of Fortune in Comedieta de Ponça (102c).

The most popular Queen of the Amazons in the Middle Ages was Penthesilea, and the episode that interested the medieval writers was her love for Hector and her appearance at Troy during the war. Twice Alfonso mentions the presence of the Amazons in the Trojan War before actually coming to the point of describing them: in II.ii.133b15-16,

he says that the Amazons did not arrive at Troy with the first people but came later; in 134a4-6 he says that the Queen of the Amazons was there "con su conpanna muy grande de duennas e muy bien armadas". Later, however, he seems to have forgotten that he has already brought the Amazons to Troy, for he tells how the morale of the Trojans is greatly raised after the death of Paris by the arrival of Penthesilea and her troops. Alfonso says the reason for her arrival is the splendour of Hector:

> E oyera fablar de Ector e de la su grand proeza, e asmo de venir a el por veer la su fuerça e conosçer aquella su proeza e su caualleria, e que por ventura que alli podrie seer ella contra los griegos e tener les danno por que la auien corrida ya vna vez. (152a34-40)

She was distressed to learn of the death of Hector but, nevertheless, still offered her services to Priam - she is here the noble Queen, changed from the bargaining one in Dictys who has to be bribed to stay (p.214,para.2). They fight well the first day and that night Priam, Aeneas and Antenor prepare a great fiesta for Penthesilea and her women:

> E cataua todos mucho a la reyna Pentesilea, tan fermosa era; e marauillauanse de su fermosura e en la grand proeza della, que paso aquella noche faziendo muy grandes alegrias todos los de la villa, ca todos eran seguros con la reyna Pentesilea. (152b40-6)

The following day, however, the Greeks are cheered by the arrival of Pyrrhus to avenge the death of his father Achilles. There is much fighting and Alfonso, acknowledging his sources of Dictys and Dares, says that Pyrrhus and Penthesilea wound each other. On the next day Penthesilea goes into the Greek ranks unaccompanied by her women and leaves herself wide open to attack by Pyrrhus. He knocks her down but she valiently stands to fight again. But without the protection of her entourage she is killed by Pyrrhus (153b13-36). Alfonso is clearly following Dares here for he has Neoptolemus (an alternative name for Pyrrhus) killing Penthesilea, while Dictys says it was Achilles. There was a great lament in the Trojan camp and the warrior women asked Priam

if they could take their Queen home with them to bury her; reluctantly, he agreed. The story that Penthesilea's beauty smote Achilles with remorse after he had killed her was widespread in late classical literature; for example, Quintus of Smyrna expanded the story in the romantic mood of the fourth century A. D. and Dictys followed the classical tradition of her death at Achilles' hand. However, Dares said that she was killed after Achilles by his son Neoptolemus. Medieval versions followed Dares' pattern as we have seen in GE, and it was not until the Renaissance that this poignant episode was retold in its ancient setting. The medieval versions omitted the story of Achilles' love for the Amazon and concentrated their romantic emphasis upon the Trojan Princess Polyxena as heroine.[16] In summing up the intervention of the Amazons in the Trojan War, Alfonso criticizes his sources, noting that Dictys and Dares say only that Penthesilea was killed, and do not mention the deaths of other people; but he reasons, it is impossible that no more deaths occurred and he gives two reasons:

> lo vno, que eran ellas muy buenas duennas en armas, e muy guerreras, e muy lidiadoras, e que se preçiauan por ello; lo al, que non podrie seer que la reyna sola andudiese en la batalla que la ellas non aguardasen muy biene la non siguiesen todas, nin podrie ella y morir sola si por ocasion non fuese. Onde dezimos que murieron y muchas con ella; lo que serie cosa aguisada. (164b37-46)

Penthesilea is, therefore, in Alfonso's version, a brave and fearless warrior whose loyalty to a cause overcomes her own grief at death, and whose beauty is admired by all who meet her.

The story of Penthesilea's love for Hector is the subject of a poem the Planto que fizo Pantasilea, once ascribed to Santillana, but now generally agreed to be by Rodríguez del Padrón.[17] This love, as I have shown was not Greek; it appeared briefly in Dictys but was considerably expanded in the Middle Ages, and Alfonso el Sabio produces probably the first Spanish vernacular work on the subject. This poem is written in epistolary style. Penthesilea begins by lamenting her

fate, that she who has conquered so much by war, has herself been conquered by love (1-2). In the next two stanzas she lists those she has conquered and includes a reference to the fight against Oreithyia and Melanippe, as I have already said:

> Yo vengue la reyna Orithia
> de Hercules e Menelida;
> dome la gente de Scythia
> salvaje, ensobervesçida. (3e-h)
>
> Di vengança de Theseo
> a Ypolites ofendida:
> vençi al rey Oristeo,
> cobre la Syria perdida. (4a-d)

Only love could conquer her, she says. This lament turns to narration in 5-7 when she describes her journey to Troy and her joy at seeing the Greek ranks moving to prevent her entry. Penthesilea, the warrior Queen, now becomes a medieval lady dressing herself in preparation to meet her lover:

> Perlas, oro, orfebreria
> vesti a la puerta Tymbrea;
> verde e blanca chaperia
> mis donçellas por librea. (9e-h)

The anxiety at the thought of meeting her lover is told realistically so that her grief at the news of the death of Hector is even greater. Stanza 13 to the end is the Queen's lament at the cruel blow fate has struck her. She begins it by addressing Mars who bestowed earthly glory in battle on her, a glory now rendered meaningless because of her lost love (12). She curses fate, love and Venus and says:

> maldito sea aquel dia,
> Archiles, en que nasçiste!
> Buen Ector, que te fazia,
> que tanto mal me feziste? (16e-h)

She wishes to die with Hector. The poet, therefore, studies Penthesilea as a woman in love rather than as a warrior; this change of emphasis from that which occurred in the earlier part of the Middle Ages is startling. It is probably because the love interest comes more naturally to a lyric poet than to a chronicler or even a <u>cuaderna vía</u> poet; courtly love was also more familiar in fifteenth-century Castile than

in the thirteenth. The love of Penthesilea also occurs in the poetry of Santillana and in Juan de Flores' sentimental romance, Grimalte e Gradissa. Flores, while lamenting the death of Fiometa uses the grief of Penthesilea at the death of Hector for the outdoing topos; he says that if Penthesilea had arrived at a different time she would have grieved for no one but Fiometa(p.57). In Santillana's Triumphete de Amor Penthesilea is a follower of Venus struck by love (XVIIe), and in the Comedieta de Ponça she is seen to be accompanying the goddess Fortuna (102b). Nevertheless, the Amazons as warriors were also important to Santillana. In the Comedieta de Ponça Catherina complains about fortune and speaks of the Amazons coming to fight in a bloody battle over Helen:

> virgo piadosa
> aquella elenessa, que las amazonas
> penso fazer libres, por lid sanguinosa. (15b-d)

The fifteenth century saw the Amazons raised to the heights of the nobility. In Santillana's Pregunta de nobles, Penthesilea is one of the lost nobility (5e); in his Proverbios they are listed as being among the noble people worthy of memory (53g). The sorrow felt at the death of Margarida is exemplified by the sight of the Amazons around her bed; they have left their role as Queens to come with tortured faces to mourn for the Queen:

> Alli fueron las nombradas
> e notables amazonas,
> sus cabeças sin coronas,
> las caras desfiguradas. (Planto de la reyna doña Margarida, 14a-d)

The thirteenth-century works that I have studied are based on known sources, and thus if the Spanish work and its source coincide on details of the Amazon legend it is fairly safe to assume that this particular source was the origin of the details in the Spanish work. For the fifteenth-century works, it is impossible to be so certain. These works were expressing original thoughts and were often concerned with the writer's emotions; as such they were not dependent on any

source. Most of the details that these writers gave were in common usage and could therefore have come from any mythological work; a few, however, are less well-known and a tentative source can be suggested for them. In the Planto que fizo Pantasilea Oreithyia and Melanippe appear (3e-h) and are then followed by a mention of Hippolyte (4b). The first two do not appear in any other of the works I have studied, except GE. Here appear both Oreithyia, and Melanippe followed by a mention of Hippolyte and Theseus, as it appears in the poem, and then follows the detail that Penthesilea reigned after Oreithyia (II.ii.21a15-31). This is upheld by Santillana's use of Marpesia in Comedieta de Ponça. She appears alongside Hippolyte and Penthesilea in the procession (102bc). Marpesia was not a person often mentioned in the Middle Ages, but Alfonso tells us that she was the first Queen of the Amazons (II.i.122a34-5). Alongside Marpesia, Alfonso says, reigned Lampado (II.i.122a35-6) who also appeared in a work of Santillana, Pregunta de nobles: "A do... las Amazonas Calextra e Lampato?" (5e-f).

It is clear, therefore, that the writers of the Middle Ages accepted the majority of the Amazons legend; simply from reading them we have an almost complete picture of this mythical people. It is a myth that the complete span of writers accepted as having a factual basis, and some even believed in the continuing existence of the Amazons in the Caucasus. The early writers concentrated chiefly on relating as factual details the physical aspect of the Amazons and their deeds; this was because they were writing historical or geographical works based on a definite source. The poet of the Alexandre was the first to treat the legend from a personal viewpoint by giving an original description of Thalestris. Alfonso, too, began to exert his personality over the story, for he selected details from different sources and added details and criticized them. The Amazons are, however, still warrior women. By the following century Heredia has added medieval etiquette to the

legend of the fight between Hercules and the Amazons. By the fifteenth century, however, the Amazons were examples not only of great warriors but of beautiful lovers and ladies of the nobility.[18]

Apollo

Apollo, also known as Phoebus, has a name of uncertain etymology, perhaps not Greek. There are two principal theories of his origin: the first is that he was brought by the Greeks from the North in the course of their migrations. In support of this it is said that his seats of worship are numerous and ancient in the North. He is also closely associated with the Hyperboreans, thought of as Northerners who sent yearly offerings to Delos from the North. This idea is put forward by Herodotus. The second is that he is Asiatic, for his title and the name of his mother Leto suggest Lycia and the Lycian Lada, and that he was a god of Lycia: he has numerous connections with that country and with the oriental sacred number seven: Hesiod says that he was born on the seventh day of the seventh month. The difficulty is that the legend of Apollo presents contradictions: Apollo, a pre-eminently Greek god, was in the Iliad an ally of the Trojans, that is the Asians, which supports the second idea, but he retreated to live with the Hyperboreans, thus supporting the first.

In Homer, Apollo was not associated with the sun, but as early as the fifth century B.C. he became a sun god, and then became confused with Helios to become the sun itself, which explains the references to his being the father of Phaethon. There is, however, no real evidence that he was a sun god although Graves accepts him as such. Because Apollo is both a sun god and a god of prophecy, an unusual combination in Greek myth, Graves connects him with the Assyro-Babylonian Shamash who was also god of both these things.[19] From earliest records, Apollo was a god of prophecy, he was also god of herdsmen and as such was

connected with his worst enemy, the wolf. His interests include archery, music and medicine. There were many oracular shrines dedicated to Apollo, for example Branchidae and Claros in Ionia, but the most celebrated was that of Delphi. It claimed to be the centre of the world, the famous stone the Omphalos, marking the very spot. In art Apollo is often represented as sitting on this, but the actual seat of his medium, the Pythia, was a tripod. She would sit on the threshold of the cavern and under the god's influence she would fall into a trance and possessed by prophetic powers, begin to bring forth broken phrases and obscure words which were then interpreted by priests. In art, Apollo is always depicted as a young man of mature beauty, with a vigorous body, broad chest and slim hips. His beardless face, with its delicate features, is surmounted by a high forehead and thick long hair.

In both the Iliad and Hesiod's Theogony, Leto was the wife of Zeus before he married Hera, and it is simply stated that she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis. Later legend, however, made her the mistress of Zeus and victim of Hera's jealousy: Hera, furious at hearing of Leto's pregnancy by Zeus, persuaded every country that it was not to receive Leto. She did eventually find shelter on Ortygia, later to be called Delos, after promising that Apollo would make his temple there. She was in labour nine days because Hera would not allow Ilithyia to go to her. Only when the other goddesses promised her a great reward did she go to Leto, without the consent of Hera, thus Apollo and Artemis were born. Callimachus, in his fourth hymn, says Delos disobeyed Hera but was forgiven for she was once the nymph Asteria, Leto's sister. A later story makes Poseidon overrule Hera's vow that Leto should not give birth in any country, for it is said that the waves were washing over Delos and therefore it was not land.

Apollo was nourished on sweet ambrosia and was immediately endowed with a manly vigour. At four days old, armed with arrows forged

by Hephaestus, he set out in search of a place to establish his sanctuary. He killed the Python, a formidable dragon which guarded Delphi. He sought expiation for this bloodshed in the vale of Tempe, and then retuned to Delphi crowned with the sacred laurel. He found priests for his cult when, in the guise of a dolphin, he overcame a ship manned by Cretans and forced it to land. In his own appearance he told the men that they were to remain there as guardians of his temple. As they first saw him as a dolphin they were to invoke him by the name of Delphinian. Every year at the end of Autumn Apollo left Delphi for the idyllic land of the Hyperboreans or some say for Lycia.

Apollo was an avenger of wrong deeds: he struck down the Aloadae, two giants named Ephialtes and Otus, because they placed the mountain Pelion on Ossa to reach Olympus in order to take Hera and Artemis. He also slew Tityus, another giant who attacked Leto, or Zeus, or Artemis. Apollo killed the twelve children of Niobe because she boasted that she was better then Leto. He overcame the tyrant Phorbas, and also Eurytus the archer who dared to challenge him. He fought Hercules who ran off with the Delphic tripod and the fight ended only upon the intervention of Zeus. Either Marsyas or Pan challenged him to a musical contest. All voted Apollo the winner except Midas who received ass' ears for his stupidity; the challenger was flayed. Because Agamemnon had gravely insulted his priest Chryses at Troy, Apollo let fly his arrows at the Greek army for nine days and killed many. Offended by Glaucus, he sent his horses mad so that they trampled on him and killed him.

On the other hand Apollo himself was punished for misconduct. He helped Hera to bind up Zeus and was thus condemned with Poseidon to enter the service of Laomedon at Troy for a year. Apollo pastured the oxen. When Laomedon refused to pay the gods Apollo spread a plague throughout the countryside. To avenge the murder of his son Asclepius whom Zeus had struck with a thunderbolt, Apollo killed the Cyclops.

For this he was punished by being sent to serve Admetus, King of Pherae, tending his mares and ewes and helping him to win Alcestis. Later Apollo allowed her to give her life for her husband's, but she was brought back from hell and restored to life.

Apollo was one of the most important musician-gods. Attracted by the divine music, deer, hinds and even savage beasts came to play beside him. Some say that he invented the lyre, others that he was given it by Hermes who had stolen his cattle.

Much of the myth of Apollo deals with his amorous adventures. Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas was pregnant by Apollo when she either married or had intrigue with Ischys. Apollo, told of this by a crow, turned his plumage black and either Apollo himself or Artemis killed Ischys and Coronis. On the funeral pyre Apollo snatched the unborn Asclepius from Coronis and gave him to Chiron to bring up. Phlegyas in revenge burned the temple of Apollo, who killed him and threw him into Tartarus. Apollo desired Daphne but she fled from him. He pursued her and in her flight she prayed for help. The ground opened beneath her, she disappeared and a laurel grew up in her place; others say that she was turned into a laurel. This tree became sacred to Apollo. He carried off the bride of Idas, Marpessa; Apollo and Idas fought and after the intervention of Zeus Marpessa was given the choice between the two; she chose Idas. Neither did Castalia submit to Apollo: to avoid him she threw herself into the fountain which later took her name. To win Cassandra he gave her the gift of prophecy; having received it she would not succumb to Apollo and so he made the gift futile by causing her always to be disbelieved. The Cumaean Sibyl who, bidden by Apollo to choose whatever she wished, asked to live as many years as she had grains of sand in her hand. She forgot, however, to ask for eternal youth, and having denied him, received no more favours from him. Hence she grew so old that she finally hung in a vessel wishing to die. Apollo

fell passionately in love with Leucothea, and appeared to her as her mother or nurse. Clitie, however, was jealous as she loved Apollo and had enjoyed his favours. She informed Orchamus, Leucothea's father, who condemned his daughter to be buried alive. Clitie died of despair that Apollo no longer looked at her and she became the heliotrope. Attracted by the nymph Cyrene while she was fighting with a lion, Apollo lay with her and she bore Aristeus. By the Oceanid Melia he had Ismeneus, by Corycia, Lycoreus and by Acacallis, Phylacides and Philandros. By Urania he had the musician Linus, by Chione he had Philammon, by Creusa he had Ion who served at Delphi, and by Thyria he had Cycnus (she and her mother were turned into swans). By Evadne he had Ianius, a celebrated soothsayer, and byHecuba he had Troilus. He also had many other offspring too numerous to mention here.

Not only did he love the opposite sex but also his own. For example he loved Cyparissus whom he turned into a cypresswhen the latter was heartbroken at having carelessly killed a favourite stag. Hyacinthus was loved by Apollo, as were Boreas and Zephyrus. The latter two were jealous of Apollo and when he was playing the discus with Hyacinthus they directed the discus against Hyacinthus and killed him. From his blood sprang a flower, the hyacinth.

Apollo was introduced early into Italy, partly through Etruria, partly through Greek settlements. At Rome his republican cult seems to have been primarily that of a god of healing and prophecy. He had a shrine, Apollinas, outside the Porta Carmentalis. Augustus, especially devoted to him, erected a magnificent temple on the Palatine. From then on, under the Empire, Apollo Palatinus was in some sort the equal of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

The main sources from classical times for knowledge of Apollo are Apollodorus, Homer, Hesiod, Plutarch, Pausanias, Cicero, Ovid, Hyginus and later Servius and Diodorus Siculus. The Greek writers and

for the most part Latin prose writers used the name Apollo. For example, Cicero in De natura deorum and Hyginus in his Fabulae use Apollo in the majority of cases and Dictys and Dares use this name alone. The name of Phoebus, seemingly a familiar title was, on the other hand, favoured by the poets. Virgil in the Aeneid uses this name throughout, even using it adjectivally, phoebeus-a-um (III,637; IV,6). Among the minor Latin poets too, Phoebus is the most popular name. The distinction is not so clear-cut in the case of Ovid, as in the Heroides and the Amores he uses Phoebus, while he shows a preference for Apollo in the Metamorphoses. In this work he even uses both names in the same section (I,452-73). Although the sun used to be represented by a deity called Helios who had a son, Phaethon, Ovid made Phoebus the sun god and therefore Phaethon became his son. In book II of the Metamorphoses Phaethon goes to the sol but then addresses him as "phoebe pater" (36). This use of Phoebus extends even to his sister Artemis who was also called Phoebe.

In the Middle Ages the two names have become interchangeable: both names are used in every work studied except in the Alexandre which uses only Phoebus. The name Phoebus is slightly more popular, having been used around fifty times in the works studied while Apollo is used about forty times. Phoebus is marginally more popular in poetical works. Alfonso does not distinguish between the origin of the two names for he says both that Phoebus is an alternative name for Apollo and that Apollo is called Phoebus:

> otrossi llamaron a Apollo, sin este nombre este otro que dizimos, Phebo; onde dixieron a ell Apollo e Phebo, e a la hermana Diana e Phebe. (II.i.106b5-9)

Like Ovid, Alfonso accepted Apollo as god of the sun and thus he interpreted his deification euhemeristically. Wise men, he said, studied to discover the nature of the sun; the greatest of these was Phoebus. When the people saw him discovering the effect and cause

of the sun they made sacrifices to him and called him god of the sun; temples were raised to him and he was therefore given many names, for example at Delphi he was known as Delphicus and at Claros, Clarius.[20] Commonly, however, he was known as Phos, a Greek word meaning light: as the sun illuminates everything so Phoebus is master of light (II.i.90a8-91a38). This interpretation occurs throughout the work, for example II.i.204a22-27. This belief that Apollo was god of the sun continued right through the Middle Ages, though it is to be noted that the writers did know that originally there was another god of the sun. Both Alfonso (II.i.204b26) and Mena ("Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion",1a) follow Ovid (Metamorphoses IV,192) in calling Apollo the son of Hyperion, god of the sun.

It is in his role of god of the sun that Apollo is used most widely in the Middle Ages, and much of the imagery concerning the time of the day and brightness is connected with this aspect of him. The poet finds that a mythological image is much more effective than would have been the plain statements, "at dusk" or "at dawn". For example, in Santillana:

> A la hora que Medea
> su çiençia proferia
> a Jason, quando queria
> assayar la rica prea,
> e cuando de grado en grado
> las tiniebras han robado
> toda la claror febea (Planto de la reina doña Margarida, 1)

> Al tiempo que va trençando
> Apolo sus crines de oro
> e recoje su thesoro,
> fazia el horizonte andando,
> e Diana va mostrando
> su cara resplandesçiente,
> me falle cabo una fuente,
> do vi tres dueñas llorando. (Visión, 1)

> E dormi, maguer con pena,
> fasta en aquella sazón
> que comiença Filomena
> la triste lamentación
> de Teseo e Pandión,
> quando ya demuestra el polo
> la gentil cara de Apolo

en diurna enflamación. (Infierno de los enamorados, XI)

ya los corredores de Apolo robavan
del nuestro horizonte las escuridades. (Comedieta de Ponça, 56ab)

However it was not only the poets who wished to embellish their works in this way. As early as the thirteenth century the author of the Alexandre said that Alexander awoke when "tollia los cauallos don Fepo los dogales" (298b). Two centuries later the same mythological allusion was used in La Celestina, but accompanied by a criticism of its use which must have crossed the minds of many people at the time (see above, pp. 228-9). Later Calisto uses the same image again; he wishes the day to pass quickly and says: "¡O luziente Febo, date priessa a tu acostumbrado camino!" (II,128.1-2).

Images are also sought in Apollo's powerful heat at midday as in: "En el filo estava la lid espantosa / asy como el Febo en el medio dia" (Comedieta de Ponça, 79ab). Phoebus as god of the sun is not only used in images alluding to certain times of the day. Santillana used him to describe the beauty of a lady's hair:

Color de la piedra de estupaza fina
eran sus cabellos, dorados, eguales,
e qual es el Febo, quando mas se empina,
e muestra e reparte sus rayos diurnales. (Comedieta de Ponça, 90a-d)

Non es el rayo de Febo luziente,
nin los filos de Arabia mas fermosos
que los vuestros cabellos luminosos,
nin gema de estupaça tan fulgente. (Sonnet, numbered 182 in Foulché-Delbosc's edition)

Because Apollo was regarded as god of the sun in the Middle Ages, as in Ovid, he took over the role of Helios and became father of Phaethon. He is seen in this role throughout the Middle Ages. The story of Phaethon caught the imagination of the author of the Semejança for here he greatly expanded his source material and gave a detailed study of the story, a rare occurrence in his work (see above, pp. 54-5). The compilers of GE do not seem to have dealt with this story at any length. In

I.368b3-6 they make a reference to it: at the same time as Deucalion suffered from the flood, Ethiopia was set on fire by Phaethon. Later they mention that Phaethon was the son of Phoebus, and that they have already spoken of him (II.i.90a36-8). It is possible that the omission may have been accidental, or it may be that the story did not lend itself readily to a plausible interpretation and was thus deliberately rejected. In the Laberinto de Fortuna, Mena refers to the story of Phaethon, son of Phoebus: "El lúcido Febo ya nos demostrava / el don que non pudo negar a Fetonte" (268ab). There is a reference to Phaethon as the son of Phoebus in Santillana's Sueño:

> Pero en el octavo día
> cavalgando por un monte
> quando el padre de Fetonte
> sus clarores recluía... (XXIV,e-h)[21]

The writers of the Middle Ages found Apollo, god of philosophy, poetry and music almost as interesting as Apollo, god of the sun. The author of the Semeiança tells of the Muses making sacrifices to Phoebus in Aonia, thus worshipping him as their superior in music (B94). Alfonso says that at the time of Joshua, Apollo the philosopher found the çitola, was the first to sing with it, and thus founded the art of music (II.i.123a27-32). Later he says that he is the god of the viola, çitola and all musical instruments, and adds that Phoebus placed a viola in Nisus' tower and the sound remained there (II.i.410b2-11). The name of Apollo, too, he says, is associated with this role for a means without and polleçione, stain, that is Apollo is filled with purity and his words reveal only truth and honesty (II.ii.53b4-10). This is an example of the elaborate false etymologies that were widely accepted in the Middle Ages. The tale of the competition between Pan and Apollo which resulted in Midas being given ass' ears appears only in GE of the works I have studied. Alfonso says his source is the Metamorphoses; however, the competition between Pan and Apollo in GE is one of words whilst in Ovid it is one of music. It is difficult to establish why this change was

made: poetry looked at in one way is an aspect of music and in another an aspect of rhetoric. It could be that Alfonso thought he could better illustrate his tale with words than with music and seeing some relationship between the two saw fit to change this detail. The compilers interpreted the ass' ears given to Midas as meaning that Midas was as stupid as an ass to favour the ignorance of Pan rather than the beauty and purity of Apollo's speech (II.ii.50b17-53b42). The lack of examples of this tale in Cossío's book reveals that this tale was not a popular one.[22]

Although the story of Apollo and Pan had little interest for medieval writers Apollo, as god of philosophy, poetry and music, is used by many writers as an inspiration for their works: with his help, their works will be more beautiful, skilled and learned. Juan de Mena asks for inspiration from the phoebean vihuela:

> O tu orpheica lira,
> son de Febea vihuela,
> ven, ven, venida de vira
> y de tus cantos espira
> pues que mi seso recela. (La Coronaçión, 31a-e)

In the Laberinto de Fortuna he says:

> Febo, ya espira, pues, de tu dotrina
> modulo tanto, que cante mi verso
> lo que allí vimos del orbe universo
> con toda la otra mundana machina. (32e-h)[23]

On the other hand in Claro escuro he says that he has no need of help from Phoebus: "ni oue beuido la nimpha diuina, / fuente de Febo muy admiratiua" (15cd), for all he needs for inspiration is the pain inflicted on him by his loved one. In the same way Santillana also has no need for inspiration from Apollo, in certain circumstances. In the Defunsion de don Enrique de Villena he draws all his inspiration from that great person:

> Algunos actores en sus connotados
> pidieron favores, subsidio, valençia
> al fulgente Apolo, dador de la çiençia (2a-c)

Mas yo a ti sola me plaze llamar,
o cithara dulçe mas que la de Orpheo,
que sola tu ayuda non dubdo, mas creo
mi rustica mano podra ministrar. (3a-d)

But in the Infierno de los enamorados, he says:

¡O tú, Planeta diafano
que con tu cerco loziente
fazes al arco mundano
clarífico e prepoliente!
Señor, al caso evidente
tú me influye poesía
porque narre sin falsía
lo que ví en modo eloqüente. (LII)

It is not stated here that Santillana is referring to the sun as Apollo, but as elsewhere the two are synonymous, I think one can assume this to be the case. Twice in the Comedieta de Ponça there are invocations to Apollo (45g; 84h). Apollo is also asked to help the writer of La Celestina:

Si bien quereys ver mi limpio motiuo,
A qual se endereça de aquestos estremos,
Con qual participa, quién rige sus remos,
Apollo, Diana o Cupido altiuo,
Buscad bien el fin de aquesto que escriuo,
O del principio leed su argumento:
Leedlo, vereys que, aunque dulce cuento,
Amantes, que os muestra salir de catiuo. (I,10.15-22)

By the end of the fifteenth century, this role of Apollo has become so important that as a musician he becomes confused with Orpheus, who was known principally as a musician. This can be seen at the end of La Celestina where Orpheus and Apollo seem to have become confused, as Orpheus' music is described as helping to build the walls of Troy, a feat accomplished by the music of Apollo (see above, pp.237,243). This confusion may have arisen from the fact that, as Cabañas says, it was accepted by Spanish poets that Orpheus was the son not of Oeagrus King of Thrace but of Apollo.[24] Also Apollo was supposed to have given Orpheus a harp and it is the harp that is the subject of this verse.

The episode of Apollo building the walls of Troy was well known in the Middle Ages. In the original accounts of the myth, for example, in Homer, Poseidon and Apollo were forced to build the walls by Laomedon

as a punishment for binding up Zeus. By the time of Ovid, however, this reason has been forgotten for in the Metamorphoses, Phoebus leaves the scene of his fight with Pan, arrives at Troy, sees Laomedon amidst the great task of building walls around Troy, and offers to help for a fee. After Phoebus and Neptune had built the walls Laomedon refused to remunerate them. In revenge they sent a flood and ordered that Hesione should be tied to a rock to appease the gods. Hesione was rescued by Hercules but Troy was destroyed (XI,197-215). Alfonso in GE follows Ovid's version very closely (II.ii.54b14-56a22). Santillana alludes to this episode in Pregunta de nobles: "A do son los muros que fizo el dios Febo?" (6c), he asks. Mena uses the story skilfully in the Laberinto de Fortuna to query the worth of his work:

> E si los muros que Febo ha travado
> argólica fuerça pudo subverter,
> ¿qué fábrica pueden mis manos fazer
> que non faga curso segund lo passado? (5e-h)

The oracles and temples dedicated to Apollo were often mentioned by medieval writers; however, none treated them in such great detail as Alfonso. He says that there were many temples built to the sun, for other planets did not respond so well to questions and pleas. There were temples in Delphi, Claros, Tenedos and also in Africa and Libya to which people made pilgrimages. Also there were the trees of the sun which were consulted by Alexander (II.i.90a8-91a38). Cadmus founded Boetia in response to one of the sun's oracles (II.i.60a37-b28; 146a39-41). Outside Thebes, Alfonso says there was a temple to Apollo to which many people came to make sacrifices, prayers and requests. Here, there was an image of gold and copper mounted on a richly appointed chariot. In this reposed Apollo and from it came his responses. From this oracle, Oedipus was told he would find the answer to his query about his parentage, in Thebes (II.i.329b33-330b5; 336b28-31). Slaughter occurred in Apollo's temple at Delphi when Orestes killed Pyrrhus there: Pyrrhus had sought refuge in the temple after he had abducted Hermione, wife of

Orestes (II.ii.194b6-195a16). Alfonso tells of numerous occurrences in temples to Apollo concerning the Trojan War. On Cyprus, in a temple dedicated to Apollo and Diana, there was an image to Venus. It was in this temple that Paris first met, and from which he subsequently abducted, Helen (II.ii.117b15-118b30). This account also appears in Dares (306-7). We also read that Agamemnon and Menelaus sent Ulysses and Diomedes to the temple of the sun or Apollo, to learn the outcome of the war with the Trojans. They made prayers and sacrifices and were told that the war could not be won without Achilles. Priam sent Bishop Colchas to the Isle of Delphos to the same temple. He was told that the Trojans would be defeated and the city destroyed, and he was advised not to return to Troy with this news but to go over to the Greek side. He then met Ulysses and Diomedes and defected (II.ii.124b6-125a47). Treason was committed in the temple of Apollo at the Tynbrean gate: Hecuba, determined to have revenge on Achilles for the deaths of Hector and Troilus, bade him come to the temple, to make peace and receive Polyxena as his wife. Paris and his followers ambushed Achilles and Antilochus, who was accompanying him, and killed him in the temple (II.ii.149b32-150b12). Alfonso quotes Dares as his source and follows it closely, only changing the name of Alexander to Paris (Dares, 329-30). Priam was also said to have been killed in the temple (II.ii.168a17-21).

Temples and oracles of Apollo also appear in the other works studied, but of course not in so much detail. In the Alexandre there is a quite substantial treatment of the story of Alexander coming to consult the oracle of the trees of the sun. This would seem to be an oracle of Apollo as it is listed among his oracles in GE and also it was the guardian of the palace founded by Phoebus and Diana who took Alexander to the trees. The tree dedicated to the sun told Alexander that he would be lord of the world but that he would never return home. The tree of the moon told him that he would be killed by traitors, but it refused to

reveal the names of the traitors (2478-93). In the Semejança we read that the Muses made sacrifices to Apollo (B84). The fifteenth-century poets, on the other hand, skilfully use the episodes surrounding the oracles and temples of Apollo to enhance their works. Santillana uses the grief in the temple of Apollo at Troy for an outdoing topos:

> Çiertamente non se falla
> que en el grand templo de Apolo,
> por quien el sostuvo solo
> a Dardania por batalla,
> tales duelos se fizieron,
> maguer que los escrivieron
> por extremidad sin falla. (Planto a la reina doña Margarida, 17)

In a poem about his frustrated love, Mena was unable to deny or ignore his loved one's word just as Cadmus could not turn away from the oracle given to him in the temple of Phoebus, nor Oedipus from his oracle, although a great battle ensued:

> Negar tu palabra no fue buen exemplo
> del hecho que pudo llamar fabuloso
> Cadino, que ouo respuesta enel templo
> castalio, de Febus su dios copioso
> entre Enope y rio çofoso,
> ni menos Edipo alla do rogara
> por ver de que padre se originara
> do fizo gran crimen en son batalloso. ("Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion",5)

Bias sees in the Elysian fields, temples dedicated to gods:

> Aun son alli fabricados
> templos de mucha exçelençia,
> dioses con grand eminençia
> destas gentes adorados.
> Unos con otros confieren
> las respuestas
> muy çiertas e manifiestas
> daquello que les requieren.
>
> Quales el Febo e Diana,
> en la insola Delphos
> nasçieron ambos a dos,
> e la su lumbre diafana,
> dizen ser vistos alli
> actualmente,
> vitoriosos del serpiente
> e de Acteon ansy. (176-7)[25]

Leriano in Cárcel de Amor, while defending women, uses as an example the little known myth of Admetus, King of Thessaly. Apollo prophesied that

he would die unless someone took his place. His wife readily sacrificed her life to save her husband (p.168).

People also begged for help from Apollo, not only formally at temples, but informally during the events of everyday life. In GE during the Calydonian boar hunt, the bishop Oeclides, priest of Phoebus, prayed to him that his spear might hit the boar. His prayer was answered, but the boar remained uninjured and angered, for Diana had removed the iron piece from the spear (II.i.441a30-b7). Amphiaraus, one of the seven against Thebes, because of the act of Apollo, at the point of death was not mutilated but submerged alive to live among the dead. Mena alludes to this episode, while he himself is yearning for death, having been rejected by his loved one (Claro escuro,13).[26] Apollo was also used for oaths. Jason swore by the sun to marry Medea (GE,II.ii. 64b37-8). This oath was continued in Medea's letter to Jason in which she begged him by the flames of Apollo her grandfather to return to her (II.ii.86b19-21).

The loves of Apollo, though playing a major part in the original accounts of the life of this god, play but a minor part in the medieval usage of the myth. This is probably because to the medieval mind such distasteful and immoral acts as Apollo committed were not proper reading for a Christian mind. Very few of Apollo's amorous escapades are treated by the medieval writers. Alfonso tells the story of Leucothea, closely following the Metamorphoses (IV,169-270). He tells how Venus, angry that her love for Mars had been revealed to her husband Vulcan by the sun, caused Apollo's love for Leucothea to endin tragedy. Apollo had his way with Leucothea by entering her chamber in the guise of her mother Eurynome. Clitie was jealous at news of this, for she had loved the sun but had been rejected and so she exposed the deed to Orchamus, Leucothea's father. For her sin Orchamus buried his daughter alive. Apollo tried in vain to penetrate the earth and revive his loved one. In despair he

caused a sweet smelling bush of frankincense to grow on her grave. Clitie sat for nine days and nights, yearning for the sun and following him round. She was turned into a heliotrope. Alfonso interprets this as Apollo being knowledge and Leucothea the lover of knowledge. Clitie is the one who loves knowledge and then rejects it: when she wishes to return to it, she is too old and can no longer learn, therefore she is rejected by Apollo. She is turned into a flower because it is transitory (II.i.204b8-210b24). No other tale of Apollo's love is mentioned in such detail as this one. Alfonso mentions that pasiphae was the daughter of Apollo (II.i.427b17), that the philosopher Asclepius was his son (II.i.106a41-2), and that he was the father of Circe. Here he gives a euhemeristic explanation for the birth of Circe, for to him the classical version of her birth was unacceptable. Alfonso tells his reader that Ovid said Circe was the daughter of the sun, but he adds, though the warmth of the sun and the dampness together create nature the sun cannot create children; Apollo was said to be the sun and therefore Circe must be the daughter of Apollo or Phoebus the philosopher:

> Mas es otrosi de entender que maguer que la calentura del sol e el humor crian todas las cosas, que pero el sol non faze fiio desta guisa e que fue dicho alli el sol por Febo o Apollo, ca amos estos son nonbres de vno. E fue filosofo atal que todos los saberes sopo e todas las naturas que por el poder del sol se gouiernan; e llamaron le por ende sus gentiles tan bien sol commo por estos otros nonbres. E por esta razon llama Ouidio a Çirçe fiia del sol; e quiere ser tanto commo fiia de Febo o de Apollo. (II.ii.338a33-45)

Alfonso writes of Oenone's letter to Paris in which she protests that he is leaving her for Helen. Here she briefly mentions Phoebus, "aquel ovo de mi el despojo de la mi virginidat, e avn este luchando e con trabajo" (II.ii.123a3-5), and then goes on to tell of the gifts that he bestowed on her in recompense, gifts which do not seem to help her in her present despair (123a15-44). There are only two other references to the loves of Apollo in the works I have studied, and both are to the Leucothea-Clitie story. In Claro escuro Mena compares his own living death with

that of the friend of Apollo who was buried alive (see above, p.178). In the Coronación he uses the same myth to allude to the early morning (see above, pp.183,190-1). It would seem, therefore, that the Middle Ages as a whole did not consider the loves of a god suitable material for their works - it was generally thought that mythological tales could be acceptable only if they offered themselves to Christian interpretation, and there is no way in which the loves of a god could be Christianized, nor explained in moral-didactic terms.

References to the birth of Apollo often occur in Spanish works. The Semeiança says that Latona gave birth to Apollo on Delos (148), and Alfonso, Mena and Santillana all state that Latona was the mother of Apollo.[27] Santillana reveals evidence of knowing some details of the myth for in Bias contra Fortuna, Bias sees in the Elysian fields a temple of Phoebus and Diana who, he says were born on Delos. He sees these two deities standing triumphant over Actaeon and the serpent (see above, p.282). Diana turned Actaeon to a stag for seeing her naked and Phoebus killed the serpent, the Python, when he was only four days old. Nevertheless details surrounding Apollo's eventful birth are conspicuous by their absence in the Middle Ages. Even the GE has very few details (II.i.106a39-41; II.ii.98a16-46). Perhaps it is significant that the Metamorphoses, source of so much of the mythological knowledge of the Middle Ages, also lacks many details of this story (VI,184-92). GE, as I have tried to show in the course of this study, seems to have had much more influence on the later Middle Ages than has been thought; the fact that details surrounding the birth of Apollo are absent both in Alfonso's work and in later medieval works would seem to add more support to this idea.

Alfonso is the only writer studied to mention Apollo's vengeances, and he includes three, but a small selection from the large number in the classical renderings of the Apollo story. Alfonso recounts

the bloodthirsty story of the massacre of Niobe and her children with picturesque detail, using as his source the Metamorphoses (VI,165-411). Niobe scorned Latona for she had only two children, and refused to allow worship to her. For this, Apollo killed Niobe's seven sons and Diana her seven daughters. Niobe, continually weeping, turned into marble. Alfonso includes a moral to this story, in his usual style. Niobe is pride, her children the tools of pride; Latona is religion, Apollo knowledge and Diana chastity. The last two are the things which can break pride and the delights of the flesh. That Niobe turned to marble symbolizes the fact that when the tools of pride have been taken away one must turn to an ordered, healthy life and be firm in it. As marble weeps so man must weep for his sins in order to be happy later (II.ii. 96b5-105b30). Alfonso also tells of Phoebus' vengeance on Tantalus for having served his son Pelops to the gods and goddesses; he withheld from him the light of the sun (II.ii.95b10-13). Once again following Ovid (Metamorphoses, VII,388-9), he tells the little-known story of the metamorphosis of the grandson of Cephisus,named Foca by Alfonso but unnamed by Ovid, into a fish, for daring to challenge Apollo, the philosopher, to a duel of knowledge. Alfonso interprets this euhemeristically by saying that Apollo silenced the dim-witted one adding that the pagans said he was turned into a fish because this is a silent animal, and the seal is the largest fish (II.ii.80b; 82a16-43).

In the early classical accounts of the Trojan War, Apollo took an active part, fighting for the Trojans against the Greeks; eventually, however, he had to succumb to the will of Zeus. However, as I have already shown, the medieval writers accepted the later versions of the Troy story, like that of Dares' "eye-witness" account of the war, and thus one in which the intervention of gods was absent, for in reality how could deities assume human form or take part in any way in a battle?

And so Apollo the warrior does not appear in any of the medieval works studied.

In the Middle Ages, therefore, one of Apollo's most important roles was as god of the sun; as such he was used principally for allusions to the time of day but he also appeared throughout this period in his role as father of Phaethon. Apollo, god of music, philosophy and prophecy was often invoked as a source of inspiration by medieval writers. His temples too were referred to throughout the Middle Ages. However, no physical description of the god appears; indeed, the medieval writers have used only certain selected parts of the Apollo myth. The dramatic episodes surrounding his conception and birth are hardly treated: generally we learn only that he was the son of Latona. Apollo the warrior is also absent; he appears in the Trojan story only in connection with the building of the walls. Apollo the lover is absent as well except in the episode concerning Leucothea, and in the brief mention of a few of his affairs by Alfonso, which are explained in euhemeristic terms, following Alfonso's belief that Apollo was once a man. It is surprising that so many of the events of Apollo's life do not even receive treatment by Alfonso, who, I have already shown, elaborated on his source material to a very large extent. That the fifteenth-century writers did not treat these details is perhaps due to the fact that they do not appear in GE. But why are they not in GE? It is possible that the portrayal of a god, born a bastard, acting as a human, taking part in wars, scurrilous acts and illicit love affairs both heterosexual and homosexual, did not make suitable reading for the thirteenth-century Christian, nor could such deeds by a god easily lend themselves to moralizing.

Although both the Amazons and Apollo are used extensively throughout the Middle Ages they are treated quite differently. The Amazons are accepted as historical personages and are described in detail both in their physical appearance and in the main events of their lives.

There is a change of emphasis for in the early part of the Middle Ages, their chief role is as warriors, while later the love surrounding their Queen, her beauty and their nobility receives greater attention. Medieval and Christian elements are added to their story, but the selectivity that occurred when treating the Apollo story does not occur here. The subjects of these two myths that do receive attention are, nevertheless, treated in the same way. The thirteenth-century writers tended to present details of the myths in a factual way, which was in keeping with the type of works they were writing; they presented the characters from a euhemeristic point of view and Alfonso gave didactic and moral interpretations to the myths. The author of the Alexandre was the first to use myth to embellish his work, a technique that is developed in the fifteenth century. Here the writers integrated the myths into their own original works. They were used for imagery, comparisons, outdoing topoi and for exemplary purposes. The myths were generally used, not for the sake of telling their stories, but to add emphasis, colour and erudition to the writer's personal thoughts.

Notes to Chapter V

1. The Roman de Troie of Benoît de Sainte-Maure (mid-twelfth century) used the spurious eye-witness accounts of Dares with some details from Dictys and this is in turn the source of the Historia destructionis Troie of Guido delle Colonne (thirteenth century). GE combines Dares, Dictys and Benoît. Alfonso XI commissioned a prose translation of the Roman de Troie in 1350. Benoît's work also gave rise to another Spanish prose version with inserted poems, now known as the Historia troyana polimétrica. In the fourteenth century there appeared the influential Sumas de historia troyana by Leomarte, derived from Guido delle Colonne, GE and other sources. There are also versions of Guido in Castilian (the incomplete Corónica troyana), Aragonese and Catalan. There is a complete Castilian version from the mid-fifteenth century. The late fifteenth century saw a translation of the Iliad by Pedro González de Mendoza from Pier Candido Decembrio's Latin version. See also Agapito Rey and Antonio García Solalinde, Ensayo de una bibliografía de las leyendas troyanas en la literatura española (Indiana University Humanities Series, VI, Bloomington, 1942)
2. The Greek Myths, I, p.355.
3. Diccionario de símbolos y mitos, p.55.
4. The Amazons in Ancient and Modern Times, pp.2-26.
5. "Amazonas y godos", Hispania (Madrid), XXIII (1963), 323-44.
6. The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p.41.
7. "Travellers' Tales of Wonder and Imagination", pp.159-73.
8. See Donald J. Sobol, The Amazons of Greek Mythology, pp.82-4.
9. Early Greek literature does not describe the Amazons as fighting mounted, but they are so shown in vase paintings as early as the sixth century B.C., presumably because they came from a land noted for its horsemen and would have been forced to travel long distances overland to reach Troy.
10. Sobol tells of another branch of the Amazons in Libya, whose leader was Myrina. These Amazons lived with men, but assumed the male role. They conquered many parts but were overcome by Mopus and Sipylus after they had settled on Samothrace by the Aegean Sea and were eventually exterminated by Hercules (pp.19-31). These Lybians play a neglected role in mythology because they had nothing to do with the European Greeks, whereas the Asiatics allegedly marched into Athens itself (p.13).
11. Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius, De bello trojano (London, 1825), pp.214-16. References throughout are to page numbers.
12. Faulhaber, Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, CIII, Berkeley, 1972), says that rhetoric, which he terms as the ars dictaminis, ars praedicandi, ars poetriae was not taught in the early Middle Ages, for the average cleric was required to know only the bare minimum to celebrate divine office and was therefore generally

taught only grammar. Of the copies of the ars poetriae that he has found he says none is Castilian nor can be shown to have been in Castile in the Middle Ages (pp.34-46). See also Edmond Faral, Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge (Paris, 1913), p.404 and Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, CCXXXVIII, Paris, 1924, repr. 1958), pp.79-81. In Les Arts poétiques, Faral gives examples of the same type of description as the one in the Alexandre, in French literature. He says that such descriptions do not originate in the ancient writers; the earliest example he finds is in the work of Maximien, a poet of the late eleventh century.

13. See Ian Michael, The Treatment of Classical Material in the Libro de Alexandre, p.291.

14. See above, pp.127-8.

15. Quotations are from Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, pp.553-6.

16. See Margaret R. Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, pp.96-8.

17. Rafael Lapesa, La obra literaria del Marqués de Santillana, pp.93-4, says that Rodríguez del Padrón had translated the Heroides, and thus knew about analyzing love, and that some of the letters have expressions as in the Planto que fizo Pantasilea. Arnold G. Reichenberger, "The Marqués de Santillana and the Classical Tradition", p.33, agrees with this idea as does Charles H. Leighton, "Sobre el Planto de Pantasilea", Hispanófila, 10 (September, 1960), 9-14.

18. Estelle Irizarry, "Echoes of the Amazon Myth in Medieval Spanish Literature", Images: women in Hispanic literature, ed. Beth Miller (Berkeley, in press), studies Amazon-like figures in medieval Spanish literature: the aggressive female who exhibits physical strength and wishes to dominate men, for example, doña Sancha, wife of Fernán González, and the serranas in the Libro de Buen Amor; she concludes that the Amazon myth was very much alive in the Middle Ages in Spain. I am very grateful to Professor Irizarry for allowing me to read her study before publication.

19. Larousse Encyclopaedia of Mythology, pp.119-20.

20. In the Laberinto de Fortuna, Mena uses the epithet of Delius in his description of the world; he describes some islands: "Naxón la redonda se quiso mostrar. / Colcos, Ortigia llamada Delos, / de la qual Delio dixo aquel dios / que los poetas suelen invocar" (52a-d).

21. Other references to Apollo / Phoebus as god of the sun are: GE, I.163b40; II.i.60b7-8, 68a13-14, 204a26-7, 411a11, 441a31; II.ii.86b20-1. Juan de Mena, La Coronación, 1, 2, 45; Laberinto de Fortuna, 169. Santillana, Defunsión de don Enrique de Villena, 1d; Infierno de los enamorados, VIIa-d; Bias contra Fortuna, 103f-h; La Celestina, II,114.10, 218.3-6.

22. Fábulas mitológicas en España, p.880.

23. Other references in the Laberinto de Fortuna: 2h, 6a-d, 52a-d.

24. El mito de Orfeo en la literatura española, p.19.

25. Also see below, p.285.

26. Alfonso tells of the story of Amphiaraus in GE,II.i.378a26-b2. However, he has added Christian elements to it: it is God who opens up the ground and takes Amphiaraus, still living, to hell, as a punishment for continuing to serve idols and the devil; there is no mention of Apollo.

27. GE,II.i.92a2-3; 106a35-b12; 410b1-3. La Coronación, 1h. Infierno de los enamorados, VIIc.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

Throughout the Middle Ages, classical mythology played a considerable part in Spanish literature. The influence of other mythologies is hardly evident; even in the Arthurian cycle there is classical material. Some parallels can be drawn between certain elements and other mythologies, as I have shown, but generally these details can also be accounted for by a common folk-motif. The influence of classical mythology grew and developed during medieval times until it became at last a principal part of the great upsurge in classical learning during the Renaissance. The thirteenth-century cuaderna vía writers tended to use well-known mythological characters; they often referred to the Fates and the main deities used were Jupiter, Phoebus, Mars, Bacchus, Diana, Juno, Pallas, Aurora and Venus, while the principal heroes and heroines were Hercules, Ulysses, Achilles, Jason, Orpheus, Amazons and Midas. The poet of the Alexandre included the main characters of the Trojan War together with the names of some of the lesser known heroes that he found in his source. He also used Niobe, Tantalus, Tityus and Philomela. A different selection of characters is found in the Semeiança as here they are used in order to explain geographical facts, for example the names of countries, towns and rivers. Here are Cadmus and his followers, Dardanus, Eridanus, Atlas, Hispan and Pyrrhus, the last two invented to establish Spain's link with antiquity. Here appear the monsters, Scylla, Charybdis, the Chimera, the Gorgons and the Cyclops. Well-known figures also appear: Achilles, Aeneas, Apollo, Daedalus and Icarus, Deucalion, Dionysus, Hercules, Hesperides, Juno, Jupiter, the Muses, Perseus, Prometheus, Phoebus, Phaethon, Pluto, Saturn, Theseus, Venus and Orestes. The General estoria cannot really be included in a comparison of the characters used in the Middle Ages for every tale that I have studied is treated by Alfonso, every deity, hero and heroine can be found in GE;

it is indeed a complete medieval handbook of mythology in the vernacular. Heredia, in the fourteenth century, very much expanded the thirteenth-century rendering of the Hercules story together with those of Jason and Medea and of Theseus and the Minotaur. The fifteenth-century writers, however, used all of the above figures, together with a vast number of new ones. Much of the work of this century that I studied is concerned with love and thus it is significant that many of the new faces are in connection with this theme: the results of love either for good or evil. There are Hero and Leander, Actaeon and Diana, Dido, Aeneas and Ascanius, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, Paris and Oenone, Danae, Daphne, and Lynceus and Hypermestra. There are those concerned with illicit affairs such as Canace and Macareus, Phaedra and Hippolytus, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, Philomela and Tereus, Myrrha and Cinyras, and Pasiphae and the bull. The Trojan War, popular in the thirteenth century, retains its popularity but now also of interest is the Theban War. We see Jocasta, Laius, Polyneices, Adrastus, Amphiaraus, Archemorus, Lycurgus, Hypsipyle, Capaneus, Eteocles and Oedipus. Also reintroduced into literature in this century are the stories of Androgeus, son of Minos, who won all the contests in the Athenian games and was treacherously killed, Phineus and the Harpies, Narcissus, Hecate, Telegonus the parricide, Danaus and his daughters, Ixion, Laocoon, Athamas, Melicerta, and Ino or Leucothea. Thus the knowledge of mythology had considerably widened by the late Middle Ages; this may be as a result of its being readily available in the vernacular in Alfonso's work, which as I have shown was increasingly popular in the fifteenth century.

The treatment of mythology too widened and developed with the passing of time. The attitude towards mythology of the early poets and chroniclers tended to mirror that of the patristic writers who were indeed the prime influence for mythology on the early Middle Ages. The thirteenth-century writers used allegory and saw the use of corteza and

meollo as the most important part in the presentation of mythology. They were presenting pagan material to a wide range of readers, now that vernacular works were becoming more common and paper made them more widely available. For this reason it was necessary to explain each mythological character as it was introduced. There may still have been at this stage a certain reticence about the widespread use of pagan literature and thus the early writers accompanied these pagan stories with allegorical explanations which often pointed to a moral so that these sometimes unedifying tales might not be rejected by the Christian. Euhemeristic details were introduced, for the chroniclers, at least, were accepting these mythological characters as historical fact and were inserting them into a history of the world. The thirteenth-century writers were, to a large extent, following a definite source, and certain methods were adopted by them to make the pagan material of their sources acceptable to a contemporary audience; they rejected the intervention of pagan deities into real-life situations, they added Christian elements and medieval details, anachronistic details which might explain more fully the nature of these classical people. Classical mythology was seen as having an important part to play in establishing Spain's link with the splendours of the classical past in order to enhance her greatness in the eyes of the rest of Europe. In the Alexandre can be seen the beginnings of the use of mythology to enhance and elaborate literature, for the poet occasionally uses mythology for comparative, exemplary and descriptive purposes and the introduction of the Trojan War episode would seem to be a yardstick by which to measure Alexander's greatness. However, it is not until the fifteenth century that this attitude is fully developed. The fourteenth-century writers in their use of mythology looked both back to the thirteenth century and forward to the fifteenth. Heredia adopts the attitudes of the preceding century while in the work of Juan Ruiz one can see the creation of a consciously literary style, much freer

from the influence of a definite source. In this work, however, there is very little mythology, and it is left to the fifteenth-century writers to integrate mythological elements into works not dependent on a definite source, works that are the result of the writers' personal thoughts and emotions and in which style is important.

By the fifteenth century pagan material was available from classical, patristic and medieval sources, much of it in vernacular translations; it was thus available even to those who knew no Latin or Greek. Mythology had by this time become an acceptable part of literature through its long association with allegory and biblical teaching, so that its inclusion no longer needed excuse or explanation. No longer is a mythological tale retold from source material but it is introduced into original material to enhance and elaborate it. Mythological allusions are skilfully used for the outdoing topos, descriptive, exemplary and comparative purposes, in order to emphasize a given point and sometimes simply for the writer to reveal his erudition. We have come far from the poet of the Alexandre who saw his hero's fall as the result of wanting to know too much about the universe, to a time when knowledge is admired and respected so long as it is used for the right ends. Yet still in the fifteenth century there are many nobles who consider that skill in arms and law is much more important than learning and who even treat the learned with suspicion, connecting them with magic. The interest in didactism is still present as is shown by Mena's commentaries to his Coronaçión and Laberinto de Fortuna, and by Villena's Doze trabajos de Ercules in which each Herculean task is accompanied by an explanation. The Christian element is still much to the fore with biblical examples often rubbing shoulders with mythological ones. Although purely secular poems contain many biblical elements poems concerned with religious aspects do not contain mythological elements - the humanism of the Renaissance is still not prevalent. Pagan material has still not been

accepted whole-heartedly, for although the fifteenth-century writers include numerous mythological allusions in their works they also at times openly reject the use of pagan material. However, to some extent this explicit rejection may have been used as a shield against the growing suspicion of the Jews and thus of anything which might have had anti-Christian connotations. Thus the works of the fifteenth century, though they abound in mythological allusions and in this respect look forward to the sixteenth-century Renaissance, still contain many of the attitudes and thoughts of the preceding centuries. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the thirteenth-century interest in linking Spain's history with that of classical times was revived in order to add weight to Ferdinand and Isabella's expansive dreams for Castilian politics.

The thirteenth-century writers follow a definite source in their works and thus it is not difficult to establish the source for their mythological details. In the case of the GE the divergences from the source, when Alfonso says he is using Ovid, are so great and in many respects medieval in outlook that it is almost safe to say that these divergences were original to Alfonso. Heredia has been shown to follow Alfonso for his details of Hercules although reference to GE cannot explain his version of Jason and Medea. When we come to the fifteenth-century writers, however, the situation is more difficult. The mythological material has become well integrated into works which are essentially the original thoughts of the writers, and details are scarce, so that it is very difficult to establish a definite source. The influence of many classical writers on fifteenth-century works has been established, but whether it is a direct influence or via an intermediary source is difficult to assess given the lack of details. However, a study of the commentary to Mena's Coronación has proved almost conclusively that Mena's "Ovid" was in fact Alfonso el Sabio's GE. Whether this work was the direct source of the material coming ultimately from other writers, for

example Dictys and Dares or even Virgil, has yet to be considered. That Mena relied so heavily on the GE could mean that other writers too used this work as a general manual of mythology, though it cannot have been the only source for mythological material, for as I have shown certain details cannot be accounted for by recourse to the GE. This proof of the use of GE at least by Mena throws new light on the cultural history of late medieval Spain. The widespread belief that GE lacked influence on succeeding centuries was due largely to the difficulty of studying it. The combination of great length with the absence of a printed text meant that no scholar was likely to examine the whole work in detail. As more of the GE becomes readily available for study more links with other works are likely to be discovered. The fact that Mena, at least, relied substantially on the GE makes it difficult to see him as an early Renaissance figure, and it throws into doubt the whole conception of the fifteenth century as pre-Renaissance. The considerable influence and popularity of the GE in the fifteenth century (which continued into the Golden Age) reveals a greater continuity of Spanish vernacular literature than one might have expected. While it is true that the fifteenth-century writers did turn to original classical works, in true Renaissance style, they still looked back at, and used, Spanish precedents and their debt to the thirteenth century is considerable. Yet any neotradicionalista rejoicing would be premature, since the continuity here is provided by an exceptionally learned work from which the supposedly Spanish note of popular realism is wholly absent. What has become very clear in this study is that periods of literature cannot be placed in boxes and labelled. Certainly new elements are introduced, ideas developed, style improved, content widened and contemporary thoughts introduced, but the influence of the past is all-pervading. Elements of the patristic writers can be found in the thirteenth century; the early Middle Ages influences the later Middle Ages just as the fifteenth-century writers influence the

Golden Age; there can be no firm dividing line. It is clear that there was in fact no "rebirth" of mythological figures in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A knowledge of and interest in mythology is evident in the earliest extant learned literature written in Spanish. This interest gained in strength through the Middle Ages until it became a most important part of fifteenth-century literature. This in turn preluded an even greater upsurge of interest in pagan antiquity in the following century.

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Abbreviations used in the index

Arnalte	Tractado de amores de Arnalte e Lucenda
Bias	Bias contra Fortuna
Canoniçaçion	Canoniçaçion de los bienaventurados sanctos, maestre Viçente Ferrer, predicador, e maestre Pedro de Villacrezes, frayre menor
Cárcel	Cárcel de Amor
CE	Claro escuro
Cel	La Celestina
CP	Comedieta de Ponça
Defunsion	Defunsion de don Enrique de Villena, señor doto e de excelente ingenio
Favor de Hercules	Favor de Hercules contra Fortuna
GCE	La grant crónica de Espanya
HH	"Al hijo muy claro de Hyperion"
IE	Infierno de los enamorados
Jordi	Coronaçion de mossen Jordi
Lab	Laberinto de Fortuna
Margarida	El planto de la reyna doña Margarida
Mena con la muerte	Razonamiento que faze Johan de Mena con la Muerte
Pantasilea	Planto que fizo Pantasilea
Sem	Semeiança del mundo
Sonnets	Sonetos fechos al italico modo
TA	Triumphete de Amor

Index of known mythological figures as they appear in this thesis. Where references are to a specific text this has been noted.